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BECKET,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

A Biography.

By JAMES CRAIGIE ROBERTSON, M.A.,
CANON OF CANTERBURY.

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TO

THE REV. ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, D.D.,

REGIUS PROFESSOR OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,

CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH, AND LATE CANON OF CANTERBURY,

WHO HAS MADE A PORTION OF THE SUBJECT PECULIARLY HIS OWN,

This Volume is Dedicated,

IN TOKEN OF THE AUTHOR'S SINCERE RESPECT AND REGARD.

ROME, *October* 22, 1859.

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PREFACE.

THIS volume has grown out of two articles which appeared in the 'English Review' thirteen years ago; and, notwithstanding the changes as to form and size which those papers have now undergone, I have thought it well to retain some marks of their original character, as contributions to a literary journal.

Let me venture here to express an earnest hope that the whole body of documents relating to the history of Becket may speedily find a place in the series of 'Chronicles and Memorials' which is now in progress under the superintendence of the Master of the Rolls. Of the necessity of a competent editor's care for the arrangement and illustration of the correspondence, I have spoken elsewhere;[a] and, next to this, the most considerable part of such an editor's task would probably be the analysis and comparison of the various biographies, with a view of ascertaining their correspondences and divergences, and the sources from which each writer derived his materials. Perhaps the result of such an inquiry might be found to throw some light on questions connected with a *Historiâ Quadripartita* far more important than that which is devoted to the Life of Thomas of Canterbury.

[a] Pp. 168-172.

My best thanks are due to the Rev. W. W. Shirley, of Wadham College, Oxford; to Mr. Fergusson, of Langham Place (author of the excellent 'Handbook of Architecture,' &c.); and to Mr. George Austin, of Canterbury, for the kind and valuable assistance which I have received from them.

J. C. R.

Precincts, Canterbury,
September, 1859.

P.S.—A new edition of the metrical Life by Garnier has just been published at Paris by M. Hippeau, of Caen—too late for me to make use of the text; but I may refer to M. Hippeau's Introduction (although it contains some things in which I cannot agree) for a forcible argument against the theory which represents Becket as a champion of the Saxon race.

November 2, 1859.

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LIST OF BOOKS REFERRED TO.

[*It is believed that such other titles as require any explanation have been explained in the notes.*]

BOUQUET, } *see* Recueil.
Brial, }

Buss, Der heil. Thomas, und sein Kampf für die Freiheit der Kirche, Mainz, 1856.

Carte, Hist. of England, vol. i., Lond. 1747.

Florentius Vigorniensis, ed. Thorpe (Eng. Hist. Soc.).

Foss, The Judges of England, vol. i., Lond. 1848.

Godwin, De Præsulibus Angliæ, ed. Richardson, Camb. 1743.

Inett, Origines Anglicanæ, Lond. 1710. [The late Oxford edition, by the Rev. J. Griffiths, is quoted for the notes only.]

Jaffé, Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, Berol. 1851.

Johannes Sarisburiensis. [Unless where the edition by Dr. Giles is named, the references are to the reprint in Migne's Patrologia.]

Johnson's English Canons, ed. Baron, in Anglo-Cath. Library.

Lyttelton's Life of Henry II., 2nd edition, 4to.

Martineau, Church Hist. in England, Lond. 1853.

Milman's Latin Christianity, 1st edition.

Monasticon Anglicanum, Lond. 1845.

Morris, "Canon of Northampton;" Life of St. Thomas Becket, Lond. 1859.

Patrologia, ed. Migne, Paris, 1844-54.

Pauli, Gesch. v. England, iii., Hamb. 1853.

Phillipps, Englische Reichs- und Rechtsgeschichte, Berl. 1827-8.

Recueil des Historiens de la France. [Vol. xvi. is usually cited by the name of its editor, Brial; other volumes by the name of the original editor, Bouquet.]

Sanctus Thomas Cantuariensis, ed. Giles: *see* p. 4. [This is sometimes cited as "S. T. C.;" but citations without any title are also to be understood as referring to it.]

Stanley, Memorials of Canterbury, 3rd edition.

Turner, Hist. of England during the Middle Ages, 2nd edition, Lond. 1825.

Wendover, R., ed. Coxe. [Eng. Hist. Soc.]

LIFE OF BECKET.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

"Si quis hujusmodi causam et initium discordiæ, medium et finem, nosse desiderat, illa magna scrutetur volumina quæ de eodem scripta sunt: *Vitam* scilicet, quam socius passionum ejus præter martyrium Magister scripsit HEREBERTUS, et *aliam* quam cum miraculis multis scripsit WILLIELMUS Cantuariensis monachus. Legat et volumen *Epistolarum* ejus, quas Prior compilavit ALANUS. Legat et *Miracula* quæ vidit et conscripsit BENEDICTUS, cum *Vita* ipsius quam breviter dictavit JOHANNES Carnotensis Episcopus. Modicum etiam, si placet, visitet GERVASIUM, qui archiepiscopatus ipsius breviter gesta transcurrit et annos."—*Gervas. Dorobern.*, Actus Pontificum Cantuar., ap. Twysden, col. 1670.

THE three centuries and a half during which Thomas of Canterbury was revered as the most glorious of English saints were followed by an almost equally long period of disrepute. Among Protestants of every kind his name was a byword, while, although he found defenders in the Roman Church, their apologies were, for the most part, written with an air of constraint, and appeared to betray a feeling that a hero so remote from modern sympathies was rather an incumbrancē than a strength to their cause. In our own time, however, a fresh turn in the course of opinion has produced something of a reaction in his favour.

The reaction began in France, where, in the hands of M. Augustin Thierry, it took the form of historical theory. According to this eminent writer, the contest between Becket and Henry II. was, in essence and in spirit, a struggle, not of the ecclesiastical with the secular power, but of the Saxon with the Norman race.[a] The Archbishop is to be regarded as the representative of the Saxons,—as asserting the cause of the people against the oppressive descendants of the conquerors, and therefore upheld by their sympathy in his troubles, and consecrated by their veneration after death. The Saxons are M. Thierry's universal solvent; everywhere he finds or he imagines the influence of race manifesting itself. The novelty and boldness of this theory, and the great literary skill with which it is enforced, have obtained for it much attention and some acceptance; but we believe it to be utterly untenable, except with such qualifications as deprive it of all that is peculiar or considerable.[b]

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[a] 'Hist. de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands,' t. i. pp. xviii.-xx.; t. iii. 158. Ed. Bruxelles, 1835.

[b] John of Salisbury would almost seem to have disposed of M. Thierry's fancy by anticipation:—"Qui ergo persequuntur in hac causa Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum, non hoc persequuntur quod Thomas est, *quod natione Londoniensis*, &c., ... *sed quod annunciat populo Dei scelera eorum.*" (Ep. 193.) Dr. Lappenberg, in his 'History of England,' has temperately but conclusively exposed many of the passages in which the theory is inculcated; and see Wilmans, in Schmidt's 'Zeitschr. für Geschichtswissenschaft,' i. 182-5 (Berlin, 1844), and Reuter's 'Alexander III.,' i. 347 (ib. 1845), for a general refutation of it, in so far as it relates to the history of Becket. There is, indeed, reason to believe that M. Thierry himself had in his last years greatly modified his opinion as to this part of his subject, and that he intended to state his change of views in a new edition of his 'Conquête d'Angleterre,' on

In England, on the other hand, the reaction originated in a religious interest. At a time when the course of politics and of popular religion had excited the apprehensions of many churchmen, the late Mr. Froude felt himself attracted towards the character of Becket as a champion of the Church against the secular power. He argued that the facts relating to the Archbishop had in many respects been misrepresented, and, further, that he had been judged on wrong principles by lax and unsound writers.[a] In some points Mr. Froude must be considered as having established his case; in others it is evident that he writes as a mere apologist, anxious rather to make out that his hero's conduct *may* have been right than to ascertain whether it really was so. The style of argument which began with Mr. Froude has been followed in the English Church by Archdeacon Churton,[b] by Dr. Giles,[c] and in some degree by Mr. Warter;[d] and on this as on other subjects the cautious tone which had

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which he was engaged almost to the time of his death; but I am not aware that this work has yet appeared.

[a] 'Remains of the Rev. R. H. Froude,' vol. iv. Derby, 1839. The contents of this volume had partly appeared in the 'British Magazine,' vols. ii.-v. (1833-4); but a considerable portion of it is due to the editor of the 'Remains,' although in referring to it I have for the most part not attempted to distinguish between the two writers. It may be well to mention, for the information of some readers, that Mr. Froude was an elder brother of the historian of Henry VIII., a Fellow of Oriel, and one of the projectors of the 'Tracts for the Times.' He died in 1836, aged thirty-three.

[b] 'The Early English Church.' London, 1840.

[c] 'The Life and Letters of Thomas à Becket, now first gathered from the Contemporary Historians,' 2 vols. London, 1846.

[d] 'Appendicia et Pertinentiæ, or Parochial Fragments.' London, 1853.

long prevailed among writers of the Roman communion has lately been exchanged for something very like audacity. Thus, the variety of opinions to be dealt with by an inquirer who may wish to understand the controverted question of Becket's merits has of late been considerably increased.

A large addition has also been made to our printed materials for the history. Of these the chief repository was formerly a corpulent little quarto, edited by Christian Wolf (or Lupus), a Friar Eremite of St. Augustine, and published at Brussels in 1682.[a] The volume contains a collection of letters, with a Life which is mostly compiled from four contemporary writers,[b] and is thence known by the title of *Quadrilogus*, or *Historia Quadripartita*.[c] But of late years the mass of printed authorities has been swelled by various publications,—especially by Dr. Giles's *Sanctus Thomas Cantuariensis*.[d] The value of the additions contained in this work is, indeed, but indifferently proportioned to their bulk: for the new letters

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[a] 'Epistolæ et Vita Divi Thomæ Martyris, &c., in lucem productæ ex MS. Vaticano, opera et studio F. Christ. Lupi, Iprensis.'

[b] John of Salisbury, Herbert of Bosham, Alan of Tewkesbury, and William of Canterbury. To these, in the History of the 'Passion,' is added a fifth,—Benedict of Peterborough.

[c] There are two such compilations, which are both referred to the thirteenth century. That which was edited by Lupus, and which took its final shape in the pontificate of Gregory XI. (A.D. 1371-8), is styled the *Second*. The *First* was printed at Paris in 1495. See Giles, 'S. Thom. Cant.,' vol. ii. Pref. p. xi.

[d] In eight volumes octavo, Oxford, 1845-6. Vols. i.-ii. contain Lives; vols. iii. and iv. Letters of Becket and others; vols. v. and vi. Letters of Foliot and others; vols. vii. and viii. the works of Herbert of Bosham. The contents of these volumes are reprinted by the Abbe Migne, in vols. cxc., &c., of his 'Patrologia.'

of Foliot (printed from a manuscript in the Bodleian Library) are for the most part of no great interest; the portions of Herbert of Bosham's Life which were not already known through the *Quadrilogus* consist mainly of tedious moralising and rhetorical flourishes; his *Liber Melorum* is (as Dr. Giles appears painfully to feel) hardly readable even by an editor, and is utterly unreadable by any one else; while much of the other new matter is merely a repetition of the old, and in some cases Dr. Giles has printed, as new, pieces which had long been before the world.[a] Yet, however lightly we may estimate the greater part of the new materials, we are bound to be thankful to the editor who has furnished us with the means of judging of them; and there is in Dr. Giles's book matter which is both fresh and important. The Life by Edward Grim, which Surius had abridged in his *Acta Sanctorum*,[b] is now printed at full length: one by Roger, a monk who served the Archbishop while resident at Pontigny,[c]—one by an unknown author, who professes to have witnessed his murder,[d]—and others of smaller importance, are said to be entirely new.

The original authorities, then, may be classified as follows:—

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[a] *E. g.*, the passages of R. de Diceto which are given as an appendix to Alan (S. T. C., i. 375, *seqq.*). The oversight as to the Sarum Breviary, which will be noticed hereafter (p. 51), is almost of the same kind.

[b] Dec. 29, t. vi. 330, ed. Venet., 1571. It had been also partly given in Martene's 'Thesaurus Anecdotorum.' See Giles, S. T. C., ii., Pref. p. x.

[c] S. T. C. i. 92; cf. ii. 52.

[d] S. Thom. Cant. ii. 72. This biographer is styled *Anonymus Lambethiensis*, from the circumstance that the MS. is in the Lambeth Library.

I. LETTERS.—Of these a collection was made soon after the Archbishop's death by Alan, Abbot of Tewkesbury, who arranged them in the order which he supposed to be that of their composition ;[a] and the collection was printed by Wolf from a MS. in the Vatican.[b] Many other letters connected with the subject have since appeared; but (as will be explained hereafter) very much remains to be done by some future editor, in order that this extensive correspondence may be presented in a satisfactory shape.

II. CONTEMPORARY LIVES.—Of these the earliest is probably a metrical French composition, by *Garnier*, or *Guernes*, of Pont St. Maxence,[c] who had collected details of the story at Canterbury,[d] and had also visited the

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[a] Alan, in S. T. C., i. 317. Some (as Baronius, A.D. 1162, 21) wrongly suppose John of Salisbury the collector.

[b] See above, p. 4. Sir Roger Twysden had before prepared for the press a transcript of the incomplete Lambeth copy (Pref. to Mapes, 'De Nugis Curialium,' ed. Wright, Camden Soc., 1850, p. xiii.). "I could wonderfully fayn enquire where there is a good one, that I might make it perfect, and so send it to ye presse; for I know no man knowes what past in former tymes so well as by the Epistles then passed between learned men."—Ib. xiv.

[c] 'La Vie St. Thomas le Martir.' Of this the latter part was edited by Prof. Bekker, from a Wolfenbüttel MS., in the Transactions of the Berlin Academy for 1838. M. le Roux de Lincy published an edition of the whole at Paris in 1843; and Prof. Bekker completed his copy by printing the earlier part from a MS. in the British Museum in 1844. I have used the Berlin edition; the references which are marked with an asterisk applying to the pages of the Transactions for 1844, while the other references belong to the part published in 1838.

[d] P. 47*. Garnier says that he began his labours in the second year after the martyrdom—that, as he obtained better information, he often retrenched what he had written—and that his work was finished in the fourth year (p. 166).

saint's sister, the Abbess Mary of Barking, who, with her nuns, would seem to have won his heart by their hospitality and munificence:—

"L'abesse, suer Seint Thomas,
Pur s'onur et pur le barun
M'a doné palefrei et dras,
N'i faillent nis li esperun.
Ne getai pas mes dez sur as
Quant jo turnai à sa maisun.
* * * *
Et les dames m'ont fet tut gras
Chescune d'eles de sun dun." [a]

The prose biographers [b] are:—

John of Salisbury, one of the most eminent scholars of the age, an intimate friend of Becket, and afterwards Bishop of Chartres. His slight sketch received additions from *Alan*, Prior of Christchurch, Canterbury, and afterwards Abbot of Tewkesbury.

Benedict, a predecessor of Alan in the Priory of Canterbury, and afterwards Abbot of Peterborough, who wrote an account of the martyrdom, and a book on the miracles of the saint.[c]

Edward Grim, a monk of Cambridge, whose conduct in the last scene of the Archbishop's life will be mentioned hereafter.

Herbert of Bosham, whose name will frequently occur in the story. This writer's Life of St. Thomas, although, as his contemporaries complained,[d] it is extremely prolix

[a] P. 78*.

[b] See Pauli, Gesch. v. England, iii. 863 seqq., for the order and probable dates.

[c] Of the 'Martyrdom,' only the fragments in the Quadrilogus exist. The 'Miracula' are a separate publication, by Dr. Giles, Lond. 1850.

[d] See S. T. C. vii. 3, 82.

and contains much irrelevant matter, is very valuable. Of Herbert's *Liber Melorum* something has been said above.[a]

Roger of Pontigny, already mentioned.[b]

William, Subprior of Canterbury, whose work is only known by fragments in the *Quadrilogus*, of which, indeed, some are identical with passages in the Life by Herbert.[c]

William Fitzstephen, who describes himself as the Archbishop's "fellow-citizen, chaplain, and table-companion, remembrancer (*dictator*) in his chancery, a subdeacon when he celebrated mass in his chapel, a reader of letters and papers in his court, and sometimes at his desire an advocate of causes, a witness of his trial at Northampton, and of his passion."[d]

To these may perhaps be added the anonymous writer whose work Dr. Giles has printed from the Lambeth Library; but his pretensions appear to be somewhat doubtful.[e]

III. CONTEMPORARY CHRONICLERS—such as *William of Newburgh*,[f] *Ralph de Diceto*,[g] *Gervase of Canterbury*,[h]

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[a] P. 5. [b] Ib.

[c] See *e. g.* Will. in S. T. C. ii. 17; Herb. ib. vii. 241.

[d] S. T. C. i. 171. Fitzstephen's narrative sometimes coincides with John of Salisbury (comp. S. T. C. i. 204 with 323-4). His work was first published in Sparke's 'Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores,' Lond. 1723. Mr. Foss ('Judges of England,' i. 371) supposes him to have been the same William Fitzstephen who in the later part of Henry's reign was sheriff of Gloucestershire and a justice itinerant.

[e] See Giles, ii. pref. ix. Dr. Pauli does not reckon him among the contemporaries (Gesch. v. Eng. iii. Anh.).

[f] Ed. Hamilton, Lond. 1856 (English Historical Society).

[g] In Twysden, 'Hist. Angl. Scriptores Decem,' Lond. 1652.

[h] Ibid.

Benedict of Peterborough[a] (already mentioned as a biographer), and *Roger of Hoveden* or *Howden*.[b] One of the most valuable chroniclers of the time, Robert of Thorigny, or of Mont St. Michel,[c] appears intentionally to avoid the subject of Becket's contest with Henry II.,[d] and the relation in which he stood to the King may serve to explain his silence.

We shall see at the very outset that, in order to ascertain the real facts of the story, it is necessary to disregard the mediæval chroniclers of later date.

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[a] Ed. Hearne, Oxf. 1733.

[b] In Savile, 'Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam,' Lond. 1596.

[c] Printed as an appendix to Sigebert of Gemblours, in Pertz, 'Monumenta Germaniæ Historica,' vi., and thence copied by Migne, 'Patrologia,' clx.

[d] Thus he states, under the date 1170, that Prince Henry was crowned by the Archbishop of York, "for that Thomas of Canterbury sojourned in France for well-nigh six years together," but nothing is said as to the cause of this sojourn; and with a like caution the chronicler, in relating some conferences between the kings of France and England, abstains from mentioning that Becket was present at them.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY LIFE.—A.D. 1118–1154.

THE popular story of Becket's birth is as follows:—His father, Gilbert, became the captive of a Saracen emir in the Holy Land. The emir's daughter and only child fell in love with him, aided him to escape, and some time after followed him, knowing only two words of any European language—the names of London and of Gilbert. By means of these, however, she was able to make her way from Palestine to Cheapside, where Gilbert's house stood, on the ground now occupied by the Mercers' Chapel; and here, as she was wandering about, "quasi bestia erratica"[a] ("like a cow in a fremd loaning," as Scott might have translated the phrase), making the echoes resound with the name of her beloved, and attended by a train of idle boys, she was recognised by Richard, the servant of Gilbert, and companion of his adventures. And the tale ends as it ought to end—with her baptism by the name of Matilda, which was solemnised by six bishops in St. Paul's Cathedral, her union with Gilbert, and the birth of a son, who was in due time to be developed into St. Thomas of Canterbury.[b]

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[a] Bromton, as cited below.

[b] 'Life and Martyrdom of Thomas Beket,' by Robert of Gloucester, ed. Black. Lond. (Percy Society), 1845, pp. 1—8; Bromton, ap. Twysden, 1053-5; Quadril. Prior, in

Dr. Giles sees "no reason to doubt" this story;[a] and it is told without any appearance of misgiving by Thierry,[b] by Froude,[c] and by Michelet.[d] Mr. Sharon Turner also adopts it,[e] although not without some suspicions, in which he would seem to have been preceded by Berington.[f] And the assumption of its truth has been made to serve as an explanation of various things, such as the character of Matilda's devotion, her son's social position, his vehement "Oriental" temperament, nay, the delicate shape and whiteness of his hands.[g] As to the details, authors are not quite agreed. Some represent Gilbert as a gentleman travelling for the improvement of his mind, like Lord Lindsay or Mr. Eliot Warburton; some make him a penitential pilgrim; others a crusading knight; while Sir James Mackintosh (who, however, argues only for the possibility of the story, and not for its truth) supposes him to have been a trader, journeying in the way of business.[h] But M. Thierry boldly turns him into an exemplification of the great Saxon theory. Gilbert, he says,[i] was one of those Saxons who, "yielding to the necessity of a subsistence," took service under Norman masters; and

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S. T. C. ii. 183-7. The passages in Bromton and the first Quadrilogue are identical; the story does not occur in the second Quadrilogue.

[a] Life of Becket, i. 14.

[b] iii. 95.

[c] "His mother was certainly a Saracen." 33.

[d] Hist. de France, iii. 149, ed. Brux. 1840.

[e] England during the Middle Ages, 3rd ed. i. 221.

[f] "So relates the *fabling* Bromton." Berington, Hist. of Hen. II. p. 60.

[g] Froude, 91. Professor Reuter does not well know what to make of it, but seems to believe the Saracen parentage. i. 295.

[h] Hist. Eng. i. 153.

[i] iii. 95.

thus, in some subordinate capacity, he attended an anonymous knight "of alien race" to the Holy Land. And if we desire proof of this view, the historian of the Conquest refers us to Bromton,—who describes Gilbert as a pilgrim going to Jerusalem in consequence of a vow, and taking with him one servant out of a numerous household,—and to the Scotch ballad of "Young Bekie" (once familiar to London streets through the travestie entitled "Lord Bateman"[a]),—in which he figures as a lord of castles and broad lands, impelled to rove by an enlightened curiosity!

The marriage, we learn from M. Thierry,[b] made a great noise—as well it might. It is, however, remarkable that no sound or echo of this noise reached the contemporaries who lived in intimacy with the offspring of the union, and wrote his life—such as Grim and Roger, Garnier of Pont St. Maxence, Herbert of Bosham, Fitzstephen, and John of Salisbury. These and other early writers, while they mention the parents of the saint, and describe their station and characters, say nothing whatever which could imply that there was anything extraordinary in their history—that Gilbert had ever visited the East, whether as master or as servant, as inquiring traveller, crusader, palmer, or merchant—or that Matilda was other than the home-born child of Christian parents. In short, the romantic account of Becket's parentage is one of the innumerable fictions which have grown up around his memory, and is un-

[a] Published about 1840, with illustrations by Cruikshank.

[b] iii. 97.

known to any writer earlier than the compiler of the First Quadrilogue,—if *he* was earlier than Robert of Gloucester, whose metrical account of the 'Life and Martyrdom' was composed a century after the hero's death.[a]

There is, however, a further question as to Gilbert—Was he a Saxon at all? "It appears," says M. Thierry, "that his real name was *Beck*, and that the Normans, among whom he lived, added to this a familiar diminutive, and thus turned it into *Becket*."[b] But in truth the word *beck*, instead of being exclusively Saxon, was one of the few remains of their old Teutonic language which lingered among the descendants of the Northmen after their settlement in France: thus Caude*bec*, Bol*bec*, and the famous abbey of Le *Bec*, which within the first century after the Conquest gave three primates to the English Church,[c] each derived its name from its *beck* or *brook*. And as *beck* was used to signify a *brook*, so we know, from the evidence of Norman charters, that the diminutive *bequet* (or *becket*) was used to signify a *little* brook;[d] and, moreover, the earliest appearance of this diminutive as a surname in any formal document is not in England, but in Normandy.[e] Nothing, therefore, could

[a] Mr. J. G. Nichols has gone beyond all former upholders of the Eastern parentage by supposing that, as Becket was afterwards styled *Thomas of Acre*, his birth took place at that city. (Pilgrimages of Walsingham and Canterbury, 120, Lond. 1849.) But the connexion of Acre with the name is known to have originated in 1190, when, on the taking of Acre, an order in honour of St. Thomas was founded there. See Diceto, ap. Twysden, 654; Dugdale's Monast. Angl. vi. 645-6.

[b] iii. 95.

[c] Lanfranc, Anselm, and Theobald.

[d] See Ducange, s. v. *Bequetus*.

[e] Manzer de Becket is mentioned

well be more unfortunate than the attempt to press the family name into the service of M. Thierry's Saxon theory.[a] On the other hand, we have express statements in the early writers that the Archbishop's descent was Norman; for Fitzstephen states that a Norman origin was a bond of common interest between Gilbert and Archbishop Theobald;[b] and another biographer tells us that Gilbert was a native of Rouen—one of many who settled in England for purposes of commerce—and that his wife was a native of Caen, named Roësa.[c] The statement of this last writer as to the wife's name is indeed contradictory of all other old authorities,[d] and one of Becket's own letters seems to imply that the family had been resident in London for more than one generation;[e] but that it was originally Norman appears to be certain. If we might venture on an attempt to harmonise accounts which after all must remain in some measure inconsistent, we should conjecture that the

in the Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniæ for 1180. See Lappenberg, in Pauli, iii. 14.

[a] The prefix *a*, which is sometimes invested with the dignity of an accent (*à*) and sometimes cut short by an apostrophe (*a'*), has no countenance from the old writers, and appears to have originated in vulgar colloquial usage. See Henry Wharton, note in Strype's 'Cranmer,' p. 257.

[b] "Gilbertus cum domino archipræsule de propinquitate et genere loquebatur; ut ille ortu Normannus, et circa Tierrici villam, de equestri ordine, natu vicinus." S. T. C., i. 184.

[c] Anon. Lambeth. ib. ii. 73.

[d] At least I have not observed it elsewhere; but it is to be found in Fox, 'Acts and Mon.' (i. 232, ed. 1684.) Whence did *he* derive it?

[e] "Quod si ad generis mei radicem et progenitores meos intenderis, cives quidem fuerunt Londonienses, in medio concivium suorum habitantes sine querela, nec omnino infimi." S.T.C. iii. 286. John of Salisbury styles him "Natione Londoniensis" (Ep. 193); and Roger Wendover speaks of him as an "indigena" of London. ii. 293.

Archbishop's grandfather was the original settler in England; that he, like his son (who may have been born before the migration), bore the name of Gilbert; and that his wife was named Roësa, or Roheise—a name which appears again in one of her grandchildren.[a] By position Gilbert would seem to have belonged to the most respectable class of citizens,[b] and at one time he held the office of portreve, which was the title then given to the chief magistrate of London.[c]

The birth of Thomas is said to have taken place on

[a] See the last Appendix. Dean Milman adopts the statement of the Anonymus Lambethiensis, and supposes "the royal name of Matilda" to be a romantic ornament (iii. 445). But I must hesitate to place so much confidence in a writer whose name and circumstances are utterly unknown, and who appears to be never cited or alluded to by any other old authority. In Westcote's 'View of Devonshire in 1630' (edd. Oliver and Jones, Exeter, 1845) is a pedigree deducing Becket's descent from a half-brother of King Arthur! What would M. Thierry have made of this British genealogy? Its value may be readily estimated from the following sample:—"William, lord of Liskeard, withstood the Conqueror a long time; but in fine, he saw force could not [?] prevail. He privately changed his name and arms, and took those of his mother [daughter of Allard Becket]. He had issue Edmund. Edmund Becket left issue Gilbert; Gilbert Becket married Maud, daughter of the Earl of Chylye: his mother was of Syria: he was born in London: of him is the Earl of Ormond and Queen Elizabeth, and had issue, besides others, Thomas Becket, &c."—P. 459.

[b] This seems to be implied in Becket's words "nec omnino infimi," although Mr. Foss (i. 194) and Dean Milman (iii. 445) take them in their most literal meaning—"not of the lowest class." See too S. T. C., iii. 178. Grim says, "ambo generis et divitiarum splendore suis nequaquam concivibus inferiores" (ib. i. 4). Roger, "secundum civilem statum eminentissimis." Ib. 92. Anything which is said by the old writers as to the parents being of "obscure" or "middling" condition may be explained either by the contrast between them and their famous son, or as spoken in comparison with classes above that of citizens.

[c] Fitzst. in S. T. C., i. 183; Stow, Survey of London, 535-6, Lond., 1633.

the feast of the Apostle whose name he bore[a] (Dec. 21), —most probably in the year 1118;[b] and the old biographers of course embellish the story of it with omens of his future greatness. We are told, for instance, that, when the case of the Saracen maiden was propounded by Gilbert to the Bishop of London, who was sitting with six of his brethren in consultation on the affairs of church or state, the Bishop of Chichester burst forth into prophecy that from her must proceed an illustrious offspring, by whose holiness and exertions the Church would be "exalted aloft to the glory of Christ."[c] Then follow tales of dreams with which Matilda was favoured during her pregnancy,—dreams which are neither very consistently reported, nor very congruously interpreted of the events which were to follow.[d] And, lastly, it is related that on the day which witnessed his entrance into the world, a fire broke out in his father's house and laid waste a great part of the city—typical, according to Grim, of the fire of devotion and the zeal for church-building which were to burst forth in consequence of his martyrdom![e] Gilbert in the mean time, according to the legend, had again set forth for the Holy Land; for on the morning after his marriage his troubled appearance had excited the anxiety of Matilda, and, in answer to her inquiries, he told her that his night

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[a] Roger, 94.

[b] See Pauli, 14; Buss, 55.

[c] Bromton, 1054.

[d] Ib. 1055; Grim, in S. T. C., i. 4; Roger, 93-4; Garnier, 48-9*.

[e] S. T. C., i. 6. St. Thomas's Day, 1118, was really remarkable for the most violent wind that any one then living could remember (Annal. Waverl. ap. Gale, ii.); but of this the biographers know nothing.

thoughts had allowed him no rest, and that he must once more take the cross; to which the pious heroine consented, on condition that the trusty Richard should be left with her as interpreter and steward. This absence is said to have lasted three years and a half,[a] and is, we need hardly say, as fabulous as the earlier expedition.

The parents of Thomas are described as resembling Zacharias and Elizabeth in the piety and blamelessness of their lives.[b] Among other exercises of charity, we are told that Matilda was accustomed to weigh her boy from time to time, putting into the opposite scale money, clothes, and provisions, which she afterwards distributed to the poor.[c] She carefully taught him in his infancy the principles of religion, and by her direction he chose the Blessed Virgin as his especial guide and patroness, "on whom, after Christ, he should cast all his trust."[d]

At the age of ten Thomas was committed for education to the Prior of St. Mary's, at Merton, in Surrey, a society of Augustinian Canons which had then been lately founded.[e] Here, it is said, his father, on one of his visits to the boy, prostrated himself reverentially before him. "Foolish old man," said the prior, "what art thou doing? Dost thou fall down at the feet of thy son? It would be fitter that he should do thee that honour." "I know, Sir," said Gilbert, "what I am about; for this

[a] R. Gloucest. 8; Bromton, 1055.
[b] Grim, 4.
[c] Roger, 97.
[d] Joh. Sarisb. in S. T. C., i. 319.
[e] See Manning and Bray, 'Hist. of Surrey,' i. 243-5.

boy shall be great in the sight of the Lord."[a] From Merton Thomas was removed to the schools of London, which he attended for some time.[b] In these early days he displayed quick abilities and great strength of memory; but it would seem that he was little given to study,[c] and his idler tendencies were encouraged by a rich and powerful nobleman, Richer de l'Aigle, of Pevensey Castle, in Sussex. This personage, the great grandson of a warrior who had fallen on the victorious side at Hastings, and kinsman of other De l'Aigles, who were conspicuous among the Normans of France and Italy,[d] was in the habit, during his visits to London, of lodging at Gilbert Becket's house; and the host's handsome, clever, agreeable son became the favourite companion of the baron's amusements. They hunted and hawked together; and once, while hawking in Richer's company, Thomas narrowly escaped from being drowned in a mill-pond, or carried by the stream into the mill. The old biographers agree that his preservation was miraculous; but while one ascribes it to a spontaneous stoppage of the wheels, another makes the miracle consist in the circumstance that the miller, without knowing anything of the lad's danger, turned off the water at the critical moment.[e]

Matilda died when her son had reached the age of

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[a] Fitzsteph. in S. T. C., i. 183.

[b] Ib.

[c] Anon. Lambeth., ib. ii. 75.

[d] See Order. Vital., ed. Le Prevost, t. ii. 400; iii. 29, 197, 198; Chron. Casin. iv. 7, 12, 53, &c. (in Pertz, vii.); Dugdale's Baronage, i. 495; Nicolas, Histor. Peerage, art. *Aquila*.

[e] Grim, 8; Roger, 96; Garnier, 49*. There are other discrepancies in the accounts.

twenty-one,[a] and it was probably about this date that he repaired for a time to Paris,—with a view to getting rid of his English accent, according to Thierry and Lord Campbell.[b] Of Gilbert's later years we only know that he survived his wife,[c] and that his circumstances were much reduced by repeated fires and other calamities.[d] It was probably in consequence of this impoverishment that his son, on returning from France, became clerk and accountant to a rich kinsman, a merchant named Osbern Huit-deniers,[e] and afterwards filled a like situation under the sheriffs (or portreves) of London.[f] In those troubled days the citizens bore an important part in the contest between King Stephen and the Empress Matilda, and thus, it would seem, the chief magistrate's

[a] Roger, 97.

[b] Thierry, iii. 97; Campbell, Lives of Chancellors, i. 63. I am not aware that this object is mentioned by the old writers (as Fitzst. in S. T. C., i. 183; Quadr. Prior, ib. ii. 190): but if it were, it would be no proof of Becket's Saxon origin, since the French of Anglo-Normans was not the purest. Garnier says of himself (p. 166)—

"Mis languages est bons; *car en France fui nez;*"

and John of Salisbury, in some verses 'De rotundatoribus verbi,' writes—

"Hoc ritu linguam comit Normannus, haberi
Dum cupit urbanus, Francigenamque sequi.
Aulicus hoc noster tumidus sermone rotundo
Ridet natalis rustica verba soli.
Sermo rotundus hic est, quem regula nulla coarctat,
Quem gens nulla potest dicere jure suum."
Entheticus de Dogm. Philosophorum, 139 *seq.*

[c] Will. Cant. in S. T. C., ii. 1.

[d] Grim, ib. i. 7.

[e] Grim, 9. The name in Dr. Giles's edition is *Octonumini*, which Dean Milman, seeing that it could not be right, alters into *Octouomini*. (Lat. Christ. iii. 446.) Garnier, according to one MS., has "Osbern *dit Deniers*;" but another MS. reads "*Wit*deniers" (50*). Thus the French and the Latin serve to correct each other; the true readings being *Wit-* [or in modern French *Huit-*]*deniers* and *Octonummi*. Whether any such surname now exists I do not know; but we have analogous names in *Twopenny* and *Twentypenny*. [Since this was written I find that Mr. Morris takes the same view (p. 404).]

[f] Fitzst. 183.

clerk was introduced into political business.[a] He was, however, soon to emerge into a higher sphere.

Among the persons who, like Richer de l'Aigle, were accustomed to lodge occasionally in Gilbert Becket's house, were two brothers of Boulogne, Archdeacon Baldwin and Master Eustace, who thus had opportunities of knowing the young Thomas from his early years, and, as he advanced in age, were greatly struck with his abilities and manners; and by these Norman ecclesiastics he was introduced into the service of the pri-
A.D. 1144? mate Theobald, who (as we have already seen) is described by Fitzstephen as ready to welcome him for his father's sake.[b] The favour by which his new master soon distinguished him was such as to excite envy, and especially in Roger of Pont l'Evêque,[c] a clerk of eminent learning, but of a contentious and impracticable spirit, which he displayed throughout a long and prosperous, but restless, life. This man had recourse to every possible means of annoyance against Thomas —"the *Baille-hache* clerk," or "clerk with the hatchet," as he styled him from the name of a lay member of the household, in whose company he had first appeared at the archiepiscopal residence of Harrow.[d] By his in-

[a] Pauli, 15.

[b] See p. 14; Roger, 98; Fitzst. 184.

[c] "De Ponte Episcopi." Some writers translate this "of Bishopsbridge;" but Bromton describes Roger as a Neustrian (1057), and Pont l'Evêque in Normandy seems to be meant.

[d] "E le clerc Baille-hache plusurs feiz le numa" (*Garnier*, 50*); "Clericum cum ascia vel securi" (Grim, 10); "Ita ut Thomam clericum Baille-hache plerumque vocitaret" (Roger, 99). These three writers, however, say nothing of Archdeacon Baldwin and his brother, but give the whole credit of the introduction to Baille-hache, whom they represent as Gilbert

dustrious misrepresentations of him to the Archbishop, Roger twice succeeded in procuring his dismissal. But on both occasions the young man was restored through the kind offices of the Primate's brother, Walter, Archdeacon of Canterbury.[a]

In 1147, Walter was promoted by his brother's influence to the see of Rochester,[b] and Roger succeeded him in the archdeaconry.[c] But by this time Becket had probably established himself so firmly that he could afford to disregard the enmity of his old persecutor. Preferment flowed in on him rapidly, and from various quarters. He held the living of St. Mary le Strand in London,[d] that of Otford in Kent; he was a prebendary

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Becket's occasional lodger. Roger styles him "quidam officialis [archiepiscopi];" and Garnier "un sun mareschal."

[a] Grim, i. 10; Fitzst. 185.

[b] This see appears to have been practically in the gift of the Primate, to whom the Bishop of Rochester stood in a peculiarly subordinate relation. The monks of Rochester made their election in the chapter-house of Canterbury, and the bishop took a special oath of fidelity to the metropolitan. After the death of Walter, and still more decidedly after that of his successor Waleran, the Rochester monks rebelled against the privileges of the church of Canterbury. See Diceto, 614; Gervase, 1362; and other passages indicated under the word *Rofa*, in the index to the Decem Scriptores; Godwin, 527-8; Wharton, Anglia Sacra, i. 344-5; Alan of Tewkesbury, Ep. 3 (in Giles, S. T. C., viii.); Le Neve's Fasti, ed. Hardy, ii. 558-560.

[c] Grim, 10.

[d] Stow (Survey, 86, ed. 1633) says that it was St. Mary-at-Hill; and Mr. Foss, who repeats the statement, supposes that there was then no parish of St. Mary-le-Strand (i. 195). But St. Mary-at-Hill is styled in Latin "ad Montem;" whereas Fitzstephen styles Becket's church "ecclesiam B. Mariæ *littoream*" (S. T. C., i. 185); and there was, as Stow himself elsewhere states (489-490), a church of St. Mary-le-Strand, until it, with other buildings, was swept away under Edward VI., in order to make room for Somerset House. Bishop Godwin, who lived between the demolition of the old church and the erection of the present one, wrongly connects Becket with

of St. Paul's and of Lincoln; and already he was noted for his splendour, charity, and munificence.[a] On entering the Archbishop's family he had found himself inferior in learning to some of his brother clerks; but he had diligently endeavoured to make up for his past neglect,[b] and, not content with such opportunities as England afforded, he obtained leave to avail himself of the advantages which were to be found in the Continental schools. The study of Roman law had lately been revived, and had been greatly promoted by the patronage of Theobald, who imported manuscripts and established Master Vacarius as a lecturer at Oxford; and, although King Stephen had silenced the Professor, and had ordered the books to be destroyed, the forbidden science continued to be cultivated.[c] A year at Bologna (where Gratian, the great oracle of ecclesiastical law, was then to be heard), and a shorter residence at Auxerre, were devoted by Becket to legal study,[d] and the fruits of it appeared both for good and for evil in his after life.

His interest with the Archbishop steadily increased, and his skill in the management of affairs was shown in various important and delicate missions.[e] It was by his agency that Theobald obtained from Rome the revocation of the legatine commission by which Henry, Bishop of Winchester, had been raised to a dangerous rivalry

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"*Monæ* S. Mariæ" (72). The list of incumbents in Newcourt's 'Repertorium' does not reach so far back as Becket's time.

[a] Roger, 101.

[b] Fitzst., 184.

[c] Joh. Sarisb. Polycrat., viii. 22; Gervas., 1665; Blackstone, ed. Kerr, i. 12-3; Phillipps, Engl. Reichs- und Rechtsgeschichte, i. 255.

[d] Fitzst., 185.

[e] Joh. Sarisb. in S. T. C., i. 320; Fitzst., 185; Wendover, ii. 293.

with the Primate;[a] it was Becket who, in 1152, paved the way for the succession of Henry II., by prevailing on Eugenius III. to forbid the coronation of Eustace as his father's colleague, although King Stephen had sent Henry, Archbishop of York, to urge his suit at the Papal court;[b] and when, in 1154, Roger of Pont l'Evêque was promoted to the see of York, the merits and the exertions of Becket were rewarded with the archdeaconry of Canterbury, an office which gave him the first place among the clergy after the bishops and abbots, with an income of a hundred pounds a year.[c] To this were now added the provostship of Beverley, and other lucrative preferments; so that Becket, when afterwards reproached as if he had owed everything to the favour of Henry II., could fairly reply by mentioning the large pluralities which he had held before entering into the royal service.[d] Although among these were

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[a] Gervas. 1665, where Celestine II. is named as the pope who revoked the grant; but his papacy lasted only from Sept. 26, 1143, to March 8, 1144, and probably ended before Becket was even introduced to Theobald. Hence Inett (ii. 203) would place the mission to Rome under Lucius II. (1144-5), or Eugenius III. (1145-1153).

[b] Gervas., 1371; Joh. Hagustald. 279. Garnier (51), and Roger (100), between whom there is in general a remarkable agreement, say that Theobald took Becket to Rome with him. If so, it must have been in the end of the pontificate of Innocent II., A.D. 1143; and Becket's introduction to the Archbishop must be dated early enough to accord with this. But perhaps the mention of Rome may be a mistake for Rheims, where Becket attended on his master at the council held by Eugenius in March, 1148.

[c] Fitzst., 186.

[d] "De exili me commemoras ad summa provectum..... De quam exili, putas? Si tempus, quo me in ministerio suo [rex] præstituit, respicias, archidiaconatus Cantuariæ, præpositura Beverlaci, plurimæ ecclesiæ, prebendæ nonnullæ, alia etiam non pauca, quæ nominis mei erant possessio tunc temporis, adeo tenuem, ut dicis,

"very many parish churches," the circumstance that he was only a deacon was no hindrance to the accumulation of benefices on him; for in those days a prosperous ecclesiastic would seem to have regarded his parishes merely as sources of income, while he complacently devolved the care of each on some ill-paid priest. Nor, when Becket afterwards appeared as a reformer of ecclesiastical abuses, did he make any attempt to remedy this, which to modern apprehensions may, perhaps, seem the most crying abuse of all.

In October, 1154 (a few weeks before the election of Adrian IV., the only Englishman who has filled the Papal chair), Stephen died, and, according to a compact which had been concluded after the death of Eustace in the preceding year, Henry II. added the kingdom of England to the wide continental dominions which he possessed in right of his father, his mother, and his wife. The troubles of the late reign, during which the support of the clergy was of great importance to the contending claimants, and the legate, Henry of Winchester, had for a time almost held the crown in his disposal,[a] had been favourable to the Church's advancement in secular power. But there was now reason to apprehend that the restoration of order might be fatal to the privileges which had been gained under cover of confusion. The

quantum ad ea quæ mundi sunt, contradicunt me fuisse."—Thom. ad Gilb., Lond. Episc. Epp. ii. 286. Nothing is known of Becket as provost of Beverley. Oliver's 'Beverlac.'

[a] "Cum esset Angliæ *dominus*, utpote frater regis et apostolicæ sedis legatus" (Gerv. Dorob., 1343). At the Council of Winchester, in 1142, the legate had said of the clergy, "ad cujus jus potissimum spectat principem eligere, simulque ordinare." W. Malmesb. Hist, Novella, iii. 44. (Patrol. clxxix.)

King was in his twenty-second year, and had as yet had little opportunity of displaying his character; but his descent on both sides was such as to raise serious apprehensions in the clergy. His father, Geoffrey of Anjou, had been notorious for his outrages against some members of the order.[a] His mother, Matilda, as one of Becket's friends afterwards said, was "of the race of tyrants,"[b]—grand-daughter of the Conqueror, who had sternly "kept all the staves in his own hands,"[c] and whose resolute character had awed even the great hierarch Gregory VII., niece and daughter of the royal persecutors of Anselm, widow of an emperor who had imprisoned Pope Paschal II., with his college of cardinals, and again widow of the fierce Count of Anjou. It was believed that the King had been powerfully influenced by the lessons of policy which his mother had inculcated on him;[d] and he had married a princess, Eleanor, the divorced Queen of France, whose father had been as little disposed to respect the hierarchy as Geoffrey of Anjou himself.[e] Nor were there wanting counsellors ready to suggest measures adverse to the Church.[f] It was therefore desirable for the interests

[a] See Girald. Camb. de Instit. Principum, 17 (ed. Anglia Christiana Society). Fitzsteph., 230.

[b] See below, p. 154.

[c] According to Gervase of Canterbury, he used this phrase in refusing Lanfranc's request that the investiture of the abbots of St. Augustine's might be restored to the Archbishops (Twysden, 1327). But Thorn ascribes the speech to William Rufus (ib. 1294).

[d] Mapes de Nugis Curialium, 227-8.

[e] W. Malmesb. in Patrol. clxxix. 1384-5.

[f] John of Salisbury writes in Theobald's name to the King—"Suggerunt vobis filii sæculi hujus ut Ecclesiæ minuatis auctoritatem, ut vobis regia dignitas augeatur."—Ep. 64, s. fin.

of the hierarchy that some counteracting influence should be provided, and with this view the Archdeacon of Canterbury was introduced by the Primate to the King, in accordance with the advice of Philip, Bishop of Bayeux, and of the politic Arnulf, Bishop of Lisieux.[a] His effectual negotiations in the cause of Henry's succession were probably too recent to be forgotten, and he well knew how to improve the favourable impression produced by his own services, and by the recommendation of his patrons. He is described to us as tall and handsome in person, of eloquent and witty speech, of an apprehension so quick as to give him an advantage over men of greater knowledge, an accomplished chess-player, a master in hunting, falconry, and other manly exercises.[b] With such outward advantages, and with a foundation of solid ability and acquirements, it was no wonder that he soon gained an ascendant over the youthful King; and in the first year of Henry's reign he was raised to the dignity of Chancellor.[c]

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[a] Roger in S. T. C., i. 101; W. Cant., ib. ii. 2.

[b] Joh. Sarisb. in S. T. C., i. 319; Fitzst., ib. i. 188.

[c] The appointment has been variously dated from 1155 to 1158; but that it probably followed quickly on Henry's coronation (Dec. 19, 1154), see Foss, i. 163, 196. Gervase says, "Statim in initio regni" (1377). In the new edition of Rymer's 'Fœdera' (i. 41) is an undated grant from Henry to the Earl of Arundel, which has among the names of the witnesses "Theo. archiepiscopo Cantuar. . . . . N. Epo. de Ely *et* Cancellario;" and hence it would seem as if Nigel, bishop of Ely, had been Henry's Chancellor before Becket. But Mr. Foss shows reason for believing that *et* is a mistake for *T.*, the initial letter of Becket's Christian name, and that *he* was really the Chancellor who signed. i. 166.

CHAPTER III.

THE CHANCELLORSHIP.—A.D. 1155–1162.

THE functions of the Chancellor of England in the twelfth century were considerably different from those of his official descendants in our own time. Although, like other great personages, he occasionally took part in the administration of justice (and Becket is found to have been thus employed in various parts of the kingdom[a]), no judicial duties were directly attached to his office,[b] which may be described as combining something like the deanery of the royal chapel with something like a Secretaryship of State.[c] He had the custody of the Great Seal, the superintendence of the King's chapel, the care of vacant sees, abbacies, and baronies; he was entitled, without any summons, to attend all the King's councils; and all royal grants passed through his hands. "Moreover," says Fitzstephen, "the merits of his life by God's grace furthering him, it is his privilege not to die otherwise than an Archbishop or a Bishop, if he so will; and hence it is that the Chancellorship may not be pur-

[a] Foss, i. 198.

[b] See Appendix I.

[c] So too in France the Archchaplain was the same with the Chancellor. Fitzstephen describes the Chancellor as next in dignity to the King; but it seems to be certain that the Grand Justiciary had precedence of him. (Lyttelton's Henry II., iii. 3.) Lord Campbell says that he was "only sixth of the great officers under the crown," i. 5.

chased."[a] Although, however, this plausible rule had been laid down in order to exclude the danger of simony in the matter of appointment to bishoprics, the Chancellorship was in reality often sold; and Becket himself was afterwards charged with having bought it at a sort of auction, and paid "many thousands of marks" for it.[b]

In his new eminence, as before in the Archbishop's household, he was at first beset by much envy and malignity; and so keenly did he feel the attacks which were made on him that he professed to his intimate friends to be weary of his life, and eager to leave the Court, if it were possible to do so without disgrace.[c] But he speedily triumphed over the intrigues of his enemies, and attained the highest place in the King's confidence and affection. One writer speaks of him as a "second Joseph set over the land of Egypt;"[d] another styles him "the King's governor, and, as it were, master;"[e] a third says that he "seemed to be a partner in the kingdom."[f] "It sounds in the ears and mouth of the people that you and the King are one heart and one soul," writes Archbishop Theobald in a letter to him.[g] "Who," asks another correspondent, "is ignorant that you are the next person to the King in four kingdoms?"[h] As Henry's

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[a] 186. See Foss, i. 14; Phillipps, ii. 59.

[b] "Certa licitatione proposita." (Foliot, Ep. 194, S. T. C., v. 268.) The question as to the genuineness of this letter will be mentioned hereafter. (Appendix VI.) Dr. Lappenberg discredits the charge against Becket (n. in Pauli, iii. 16). See Appendix II.

[c] Roger, in S. T. C., i. 102; Joh. Sarisb., ib. 321; Herb., in S. T. C., vii. 21.

[d] Grim, 11.

[e] Gerv. Dorob., 1382.

[f] W. Neubrig., ii. 16.

[g] Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 78.

[h] Pet. Cellens., Ep. i. 24. (Patrol. ccii.)

chief adviser, he is entitled to a large share of praise for the measures which were taken to improve the state of the country. The foreign mercenaries, who had fearfully oppressed the people by their exactions (and not altogether without excuse, inasmuch as they were driven to plunder by the want of regular pay[a]), were peremptorily compelled to leave the realm. The castles, which had sprung up in great numbers during the troubled reign of Stephen,[b] to the injury of the Crown and the oppression of the subjects, were razed to the ground,—the Chancellor taking part in the execution of the measure as well as in the determination of it. Thieves and robbers were put down, and many of them gladly exchanged their lawless manner of life for the pursuits of regular industry. "The ravening wolves fled," says William of Newburgh, "or were changed into sheep; or, if not really changed, yet, through fear of the laws, they remained harmlessly among the sheep."[c] Families were reinstated in possessions of which they had been wrongfully deprived; agriculture and other peaceful arts began to flourish anew; and one great ecclesiastical abuse,—the practice of keeping bishoprics and abbeys long vacant for the purpose of securing to the Crown the revenues during the vacancy,—was mitigated, although not abandoned.[d]

The private intercourse of the Sovereign with his

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[a] Gesta Stephani, ed. Sewell, 97.

[b] These are reckoned by Robert of Mont St. Michel at 375 (Contin. Sigeb., A.D. 1152, ap. Migne, Patrol., clx. 476), while Diceto makes the number 1115! (ap Twysd. 528). See Lingard, ii. 96.

[c] ii. 1.

[d] Fitzst., 187, 191, &c.

minister was on the most intimate footing. When serious business was over, says Fitzstephen, they played together, like boys of the same age. They were companions in all manner of amusements; and often, when the Chancellor was at dinner, entertaining, as his custom was, a splendid party of nobles and knights, the King, in returning from the chace, would walk in without ceremony, and would either drink a cup and be gone, or leap over the table and seat himself as a guest. And the biographer adds the well-known story, how the King, as he was riding through London with the Chancellor on a cold wintry day, stripped off the struggling favourite's rich furred cloak, to bestow it on a shivering beggar.[a]

In addition to the chancellorship, Henry conferred on Becket the wardenship of the castles of Eye and Berkhampstead—the former with the service of a hundred and forty knights attached to it; and his ecclesiastical preferments were still further increased, especially by the deanery of Hastings, a royal chapel to which a college of secular canons was attached.[b] In those days the chancellor was not a patron, but a receiver, of benefices; and such was Becket's popularity with all who possessed such patronage, that, according to Fitzstephen, he might, by merely asking for things as they fell vacant, have become in time the one sole incumbent of all ecclesiastical preferment.[c]

The splendour which Becket displayed as chancellor

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[a] S. T. C., i. 191-3.

[b] Monast. Anglic., vi. 1470.

[c] 188. Dr. Pauli seems to misapprehend the Lord Chancellor's present relation to the Church, in saying that he still has "die Verwaltung der Kirchengüter unter sich" (p. 17).

is dwelt on by all his biographers. "So great," says Roger of Pontigny, "was the multitude of soldiers and men of various kinds which followed him, that the King himself sometimes seemed to be deserted in comparison."[a] But Fitzstephen, in particular, rises above himself in describing his master's state. The troops of attendants—the profusion of gold and silver plate—the sumptuous fare, provided without any regard to cost—the throng of knights and nobles who enjoyed his magnificent hospitality—the daily supply of rushes in winter, and of green branches in summer, that those who could not find room on the benches might not be obliged to soil their dress by sitting on the bare floor—the voluntary homage of many barons—the costly and profuse gifts of horses, hawks, money, vestments, gold and silver vessels—the eagerness with which persons of high rank strove to place their sons in a household which was regarded as the best school of noble breeding, and of which even the heir-apparent of the kingdom was an inmate—these and other circumstances are set forth by the biographer[b] in a style which leads us to suspect that, although he had followed his patron in the more spiritual part of his career, his memory was by no means unwilling to revert to the braveries of which he had been an admiring spectator while the saint was as yet a child of this world.

But the most signal exhibition of Becket's pomp was when, in 1159, he went on an embassy into France, in order to ask the Princess Margaret in marriage for his

[a] S. T. C., i. 103. [b] 188-190.

royal pupil. Fitzstephen's account of this expedition reads like a fairy tale. The carriages drawn by five horses each; the huge train of clerks, knights, men-at-arms, falconers with their hawks, huntsmen with their dogs, and domestics of every kind—all arrayed in brilliant new holiday attire; the menagerie of strange beasts; the fierce mastiffs who guarded every waggon, each of them powerful enough to subdue a bear or a lion; the apes mounted on every sumpter-horse; the grooms riding "in English fashion" (a peculiarity of which unhappily no explanation is vouchsafed); the prodigious apparatus of plate, chapel-furniture, cooking-utensils, and bedding; the goodly iron-hooped barrels of ale, [a] life, sparkling, delicious, and wholesome—fitted at once to charm the palate of every Frenchman who should taste it, and to fill him with admiring envy of the islanders who could brew such exquisite potions; the huge chests of money, books, clothing, and provisions—altogether formed such a sight as had never before been seen along the road. From castles and from cottages, from hamlets and from cities, crowds of astonished natives rushed forth, with shoulders shrugged, hands uplifted, and eyes distended in blank amazement—asking, as well they might, with strange French exclamations, who might be the chief of all this marvellous procession; and on hearing that it was the King of England's chancellor, they were lost in specu-

[a] "Duæ bigæ solam cerevisiam trahebant, factam in aquæ decoctione ex adipe frumenti, in cadis ferratis, donandam Francis, id genus liquidi plasmatis mirantibus, potum sane salubrem, defæcatum, colore vineo, sapore meliori" (197). Robert of Mont St. Michel mentions it as a thing unheard of, that in 1152, after two bad vintages, beer and mead were sold in France.—Patrol. clx. 470.

lation as to what the master must be if the officer's equipage were so magnificent.[a]

The envoy's behaviour at Paris was in keeping with the grandeur of his preparations. King Louis, whose custom it was to pay all the expenses of ambassadors, had ordered the inhabitants of his capital to sell no provisions to the Englishmen; but Becket was aware of this beforehand, and had sent out disguised purveyors, who bought up enormous quantities in the towns and villages around; so that, on arriving at his lodgings in the Temple, he found them stored, at his own cost, with three days' supplies for a thousand men. All Paris was astonished by the sumptuousness of his table; a dish of eels, which cost a hundred shillings "sterlingorum," was long after especially famous in the history of gastronomy.[b] He distributed presents with a lavish hand; and feeling, it would seem, the importance of winning favour with the literary class, bestowed much both of his attention and of his liberality on the professors and students of the schools. By these means, we are told, he gained unexampled popularity; and having effected the object of his mission, in his return he seized and imprisoned a famous robber, who was particularly obnoxious to the King of England.[c]

A less amicable expedition into France followed shortly after. William IX., Duke of Aquitaine, when preparing to set out for the first crusade, had pledged

[a] Fitzst., 197-8.

[b] Lord Lyttelton reckons the alleged price of this dish as equal to 75*l.* in his own time; but thinks the story incredible (iii. 10).

[c] Fitzst., 199.

the county of Toulouse, which he held in right of his wife, to her uncle Raymond V., Count of St. Gilles, whose grandson now held possession of it. As many years had passed during which the dukes of Aquitaine were in no condition to redeem the pledge, Toulouse had come to be regarded by the Counts of St. Gilles as their own; but a claim to it had been set up by Louis VII., in behalf of his wife Eleanor, the heiress of Aquitaine. This claim had now passed to Henry of England, in consequence of his having married Eleanor on her being divorced by Louis; and in 1159 he prepared to assert it by force of arms.[a] By the Chancellor's advice an important novelty was introduced in levying the troops for this expedition—the personal service of the King's vassals being commuted for a *scutage*, or rate levied on every knight's fee, in order to the payment of mercenaries.[b] Becket equipped and maintained 700 knights for the war at his own expense, and to these he afterwards added 1200 knights and 4000 infantry. He appeared at the head of his troops, in cuirass and helmet,[c] led them to the assault or to the sack of towns and castles, and, among other acts of prowess, unhorsed in single combat a valiant French knight, Engelram de

[a] Rob. de Monte, A.D. 1159; Will. Neubrig., ii. 10, and note, p. 110; Trivet, 47; Carte, i. 569; Lingard, ii. 114; Sismondi, 'Hist. des Français,' v. 256-7, 407; Pauli, iii. 21. There are considerable differences as to detail.

[b] See Pauli, 22-3. Robert of Mont St. Michel says that the King had recourse to this, "nolens vexare agrarios milites, nec burgensium nec rusticorum multitudinem" (A.D. 1159).

[c] Fitzst., 201.

Trie, whose steed he carried off as a trophy. Garnier, who was to become his biographer in the character of a saint, tells us that he had himself often seen him in military attire, advancing to charge the French.[a]

The expedition failed of its main object. Louis, although he had himself formerly urged Eleanor's claim, was not disposed to favour it when taken up by the powerful rival who had succeeded him in the possession of her person and territories; and Henry, on approaching Toulouse, found that the King of France, the suzerain of his continental dominions, was within its walls, as the ally of the Count of St. Gilles. Although urged by his Chancellor to make an assault, which might probably have resulted in the capture of Louis, he hesitated, out of a scruple as to his feudal duty, and as to the probable effects of such an example; and, after having besieged the city from Midsummer to the end of October, he withdrew, leaving the Chancellor to garrison Cahors, which had been surrendered to him, and to defend his other acquisitions in the south of France.[b] For the part which Becket took in this expedition, innumerable precedents of dignified ecclesiastics might have been pleaded; for not only deacons (as he then was), but bishops, and even popes, had led troops to war, and some of them had distinguished themselves by their personal exploits. Yet it is evident that, besides being contrary to a long succession of canons, such acts were

[a] "E ieo l ui sur Franceis plusurs feiz cheualchier."—P. 53*.

[b] Fitzst., 200; Rob. de Monte, A.D. 1159; Sismondi, v. 410-4.

felt by Becket's contemporaries, even while they admired his gallantry, to be inconsistent with his profession and position. In his warlike achievements, even more than in the pomp and luxury of his peaceful days, it was considered that, when he had "put on the chancellor," he had "for a time put off the deacon."[a]

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[a] Herb., vii. 17.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ARCHBISHOPRIC.—A.D. 1161-2.

ALTHOUGH Becket's outward life, at least, during his tenure of the Chancellorship, was as that of a layman, devoted to the enjoyments, the vanities, the pride and luxury and ostentation of this world, it is said that not only had the general opinion fixed on him as likely to be Archbishop of Canterbury,[a] but Theobald himself was desirous to have the Chancellor and Archdeacon for his successor.[b] And soon after the death of Theobald, which took place in April, 1161, it appeared that the King's intention had been rightly divined. The Chancellor was about to take leave of his master at Falaise, with the purpose of proceeding into England on political business, when Henry told him that the chief object of his journey had not yet been mentioned—that he was to be Archbishop of Canterbury. It is said that Becket drew the King's attention to the gay and secular dress which he wore, as a proof of his unfitness for the highest spiritual office, and warned him (as

[a] "Certe dum magnificus erat nugator in curia, dum legis contemptor videbatur et cleri, dum scurriles cum potentioribus sectabatur ineptias, magnus habebatur, clarus (charus?) erat et acceptus omnibus, et solus dignissimus summo pontificatu ab universis conclamabatur et singulis." Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 193.

[b] See Appendix III.

Hildebrand is said in a similar case to have warned Henry IV. of Germany),[a] that, if he should become Archbishop, their friendship must be turned into bitter enmity.[b] It may have been that the smile which accompanied the words was intended to counteract their effect;[c] at least, it is certain that Henry did not understand them seriously, but continued to suppose that, in promoting his favourite counsellor, he was forwarding his own views of policy as to the affairs of the Church. "Richard," he said to the Chief Justiciary De Luci,[d] who was about to accompany Becket into England, "if I were lying dead on my bier, would you endeavour that my first-born, Henry, should be raised to the kingdom?" "Certainly," was the answer, "to the utmost of my power." "Then," said the King, "I wish you to take no less care for the promotion of the Chancellor to the see of Canterbury."[e] We are told, however, that Becket himself declared on other occasions his unwillingness to undertake the burden of the primacy. To the prior of Leicester in particular, who

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[a] Bonizo, ap. Oefel. Scriptores Rerum Boicarum, 811; Card. de Aragonia, ap. Murator., iii. 304. This story, however, is now generally rejected.

[b] Herb. vii. 26.

[c] Southey, Book of the Church, i. 152, ed. 3.

[d] For an account of R. de Luci see Foss, i. 264. In his own time his name was the subject of many punning allusions, both friendly and the reverse, although no allusion to Justice Shallow's coat of arms occurs among them. Thus, one of Becket's partisans, after the Justiciary had incurred the enmity of the party, calls him "proprii nominis inimicus" (S. T. C., iv. 254); and another, "*Luscus* noster cujus et mentis oculum penitus excæcavit Deus" (ib. vi. 237). On the other hand, his epitaph in Lesnes Abbey styled him "Lux Luciorum" (Murray's Handb. of Kent, 25).

[e] Herb. vii. 27.

had visited him when recovering from an illness, before the King's announcement of his choice, he had said that he knew three poor priests in England whose promotion to the office he would rather desire than his own; and he had expressed the belief that, if he were appointed, he must forfeit the favour either of God or of the King.[a] It was only at the urgent and repeated solicitation of the pope's legate, Cardinal Henry of Pisa, that he at length consented to accept the office.[b]

After all the struggle which had taken place between Henry I. and Anselm, and the seeming victory of the ecclesiastical cause, the appointment of English bishops had virtually remained in the King's hands, inasmuch as his licence was necessary before the clergy proceeded to an election, and his approval before the consecration of the person elected.[c] At Canterbury, however, where the cathedral was connected with a monastery, and the monks of Christchurch possessed that privilege of election which elsewhere belonged to a chapter of canons, there was a continual struggle for independence both of the crown and of the suffragan bishops, who claimed a share in the choice of their metropolitan.[d] In the

[a] Fitzst., 193. It is said that the prior rallied him on the inconsistency of his dress with his ecclesiastical pluralities, and perhaps this may have suggested Becket's answer to the King.

[b] Roger, 108; Joh. Sarisb. in S. T. C., i. 322; Anon. Lamb., 78.

[c] "Cum autem juxta regni consuetudinem [rex] in electionibus faciendis potissimas et potentissimas habeat partes," &c. Pet. Bles. Ep. 64 (Patrol. ccvii.).

[d] See Inett, ii. 179; Lingard, ii. 311-2. There were then seventeen bishoprics in England, and four in Wales. In eight of the English cathedrals there were monks; in eight, secular canons; in one, canons regular (Rob. de Monte, Patrol. clx. 471). The right of the bishops to share in the election

present case it is evident that there was a difficulty in winning the consent of the monks, and it is probable that some part of the thirteen months during which the vacancy lasted may have been spent in secret negotiations with them.[a] It was not until May, 1162, that a deputation of three bishops, with the Justiciary de Luci, and his brother the abbot of Battle, appeared at Canterbury, bearing the King's licence for the election of an archbishop, and his recommendation of the Chancellor Thomas for the office.[b] Here, as in many other parts of the story, there is a discrepancy between the old biographers—each of them, apparently, making such a statement as he conceived to be most for the honour of his hero. Thus, while some represent the monks as hesitating to elect Becket only because he was not, like former archbishops, a monk, and as delighted with the nomination of a person otherwise so admirable,[c] we are told by others that his character was fully discussed, and that his courtly and secular habits were freely handled by objectors.[d] Whether willingly, however, or under the terror of the penalties with which the commissioners are said to have been armed,[e] the prior and monks of Christchurch agreed in choosing the royal nominee, and a day was appointed for their attendance at Westminster, where the election was to be completed, with the con-

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was cancelled by Innocent III. in 1206. Regest. ix. 205 (ib. ccxv.).

[a] Grim seems to intimate something of this kind by saying that the promotion of Becket was deferred until the King should extort [*extorqueat*] the consent of the monks, 13.

[b] Garnier, 56*; Grim, 13.

[c] Roger, 106.

[d] Anon. Lamb., 76; Herb., vii. 26.

[e] Foliot, Ep. 194, p. 268.

currence of the bishops and nobles, in the presence of the young Prince Henry, to whom an oath of fealty had lately been taken,[a] and whom his father had appointed as his representative for the occasion.[b]

The election at Westminster was unanimous, but not without some previous show of opposition from a personage who will be often mentioned in the sequel—Gilbert Foliot. Foliot was of a Norman family which had been settled in England from the Conquest; he was related to the Earls of Hereford,[c] and it appears that some of his connexions were among the Normans who had acquired estates in Scotland.[d] He had been educated in the great monastery of Cluny, and, after having held the priory of that house, had been successively prior of Abbeville and abbot of Gloucester.[e] In 1147 he was raised to the bishopric of Hereford, from which, a few months after the beginning of Becket's archiepiscopate, he was translated to London.[f] Among all the clergy of the English Church Foliot had obtained the greatest reputation and influence. His fame for learning and eloquence was very high, and perhaps he was yet more admired for his sanctity.[g] We are told that he "never tasted meat or wine;" that he increased his austerities in proportion as he rose to more eminent station; and there is a letter from Alexander III., in which the Pope entreats him to moderate a rigour which, by weakening

[a] Aelred. A.D. 1162.

[b] Garnier, 57*; Roger, 106.

[c] Gervase, 1378; Carte, i. 566.

[d] See Fol., Ep. 278.

[e] Ib. Ep. 269. There is a letter of outrageous adulation to him from the abbot of Cluny. Ib. Ep. 479.

[f] Diceto, 535. See Appendix IV.—V.

[g] Anon. Lambeth., 91. He is styled by Mapes, "Vir morum et sapientiæ thesaurus." De Nugis Curialium, 153 (published by the Camden Society).

his health, might do serious injury to the Church.[a] Mr. Froude describes him as the chief of the "religionist party"[b]—the party which founded its claims to influence on the practice of such religion as was in those days most in fashion with the multitude; but it seems as if, in the description of this party, there were certain elements derived from the nineteenth century, which tend to give an untrue impression as to Foliot's character.[c] The chief value of Dr. Giles's large addition to Foliot's published letters is that they help us to understand the writer better—as accumulated letters must do, however unimportant in other respects. He appears in them as a very busy man; extremely desirous of influence, and somewhat fond of meddling in the affairs of his neighbours; not altogether above an occasional job; a skilful flatterer of persons in high station, and especially adroit in giving his flattery a spiritual turn; well-meaning in the main, but too much addicted to scheming and trickery. He writes with a continual plausibility, and with a sonorous redundancy of words, which force on us the suspicion that he is a man not to be trusted; and with all his virtues, talents, activity, and influence, it would appear that he was not trusted. We cannot bring ourselves to agree in Archdeacon Churton's estimate of him as "a wise and moderate man, who acted in

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[a] S. T. C., vi. 87; cf. Roger, 107; Fitzst. 202.

[b] P. 38. Dr. Pauli pronounces this to be certainly a correct view (35); but perhaps the learned German historian has not altogether understood Mr. Froude's meaning.

[c] Mr. Froude speaks of the Cistercians as the strength of the religionist party (38, 48); but the Cistercians were in constant connexion with Becket; and Foliot belonged to the rival order of Cluny.

honest prudence;"[a] rather it seems to us that the main defect in his character was a want of straightforward honesty, and that, if his honesty had been greater, his prudence would really have been greater also.[b]

Although it is certain that Foliot objected to the election of Becket, the circumstances are variously stated. By his enemies his opposition is ascribed to envy, and he is represented as wishing to get the archbishopric for himself.[c] But this imputation he very strongly denies in a letter addressed to Becket at a later time. If, he argues, he had sought the office, the most important person to be gained was the Chancellor, the King's chief counsellor and favourite; and he appeals to the Archbishop whether any application had ever been made for his interest as chancellor.[d] He declares

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[a] 'Early English Church,' first edit., p. 349.

[b] Fitzstephen says that he was in the habit of varying the names of the persons specified in bidding of prayer (king, prince, archbishop, &c.), according to the state of the political wind (251). Garnier says of him,—

"De lettres sout assez, et servit Astarot." —(53.)

This rhyme on his name seems to allude to the story that one night, as he was meditating the confusion of Thomas, "he heard an exceeding terrible voice, uttered from above, clearly saying to him,—

"O Gilberte Foliot,
Dum revolvis tot et tot,
Deus tuus est Astaroth."
R. Wendover, ii. 323.

The Bishop, however, is said to have answered, "Mentiris, dæmon; Deus meus est Deus Sabaoth," (Coxe, n. in loc.)

Another version is—

"Tace, dæmon; qui est Deus Sabaoth, est Ille meus."
Peacock's 'Crotchet Castle.'

[c] Thom., Ep. 130, p. 287; Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 183, col. 183; Fitzst., 202. The charge was renewed on the vacancy after Becket's death, and was then again denied with much protestation by Foliot (Ep. 269).

[d] It need hardly be observed that this argument was not worth much in a case where the Chancellor himself was the rival marked out by public rumour.

the only reasons for his opposition to have been a desire of the Church's welfare, and a wish that her rights should not be violated by the intrusion of a person so notoriously unfit as the King's nominee. And, while the withdrawal of his objections is ascribed by his enemies to chagrin at finding that the baseness of his motives was generally seen through, and that therefore no one would second him, his own statement is very different —that he yielded to nothing less than a threat of banishment against himself and all his kindred.[a]

It is said by John of Salisbury, that Foliot was the only person who did not express pleasure at the nomination; but that, when shamed out of his opposition, he was one of the first to vote for Becket, and the loudest in praise of the choice,[b] although, according to Fitzstephen, he afterwards sarcastically observed that the King had wrought a miracle in turning a soldier into an archbishop.[c] We may observe that, even if all these stories are true, Foliot's insincerity cannot have been greater than that which prompted the Archbishop soon after to promote the translation of one whom he knew to be a thorough intriguer from Hereford to London, and to address to him two exceedingly flattering letters on the occasion.[d] And we may add, that

[a] "Exilio crudeliter addicti sumus, nec solum persona nostra, sed et domus patris mei, et conjunctu nobis affinitas, et cognatio tota." (Ep. 194, p. 268.) See Appendix VI.

[b] Ep. 183: cf. Froude, 592.

[c] Fitzst., 202.

[d] Epp. 128-9; Gervase, 1384. On Becket's patronage of Foliot see Buss, 242-4. • The Lambeth biographer says that the King promoted him, and obtained the Pope's consent to his translation (Alex. III. in Fol., Ep. 146), by way of compensation for his disappointment as to the primacy (ii. 91). Fitzstephen tells us that,

the tone in which Becket's elevation is spoken of by his partisans in different parts of their narratives is not very consistent. Foliot's opposition may, indeed, have arisen from bad and selfish feelings; but surely there *might* have been an opposition free from all evil motive, and in no way deserving of infamy; since any one who, on the ground of the candidate's previous character, and of the manner in which the election was controlled, should have set himself against (what is said to have been) the universal acclamation in its favour, would have been afterwards justified by Becket himself, when he spoke of his troubles as judgments on the irregularity of his election, and (according to the common belief) even resigned his archbishopric into the hands of the Pope, as an office to which he had been unworthily and unlawfully appointed.

After the election had been completed, Henry, Bishop of Winchester, the most eminent in dignity of the Bishops, addressed Prince Henry in the name of his brethren, requesting that the Archbishop-elect might be discharged from all obligations contracted in his secular office; and the Prince, in his father's name, consented.[a] We shall see hereafter that the validity and the extent of this release became subjects of dispute between Becket and the King.

On the way to Canterbury, where his consecration was to be performed, the Archbishop-elect had a vision,

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"sicut putabatur," the King's object was to have Foliot nearer to him as an ally against the Archbishop (216); but this is merely an inference from the event.

[a] Grim, 15; Roger, 107-8; Garn., 58*.

in which a venerable person appeared to entrust to him ten talents; and in consequence of the feeling of responsibility which this vision produced, he charged some of his clerks to report to him what men should say of him, and to admonish him of any faults which he might commit in the administration of his office.[a] In one, at least, of these monitors, the biographer Herbert of Bosham, he had made choice of a person who was not likely to trouble him with frequent expostulations.

With respect to the right of taking the chief part in the consecration, a conflict of pretensions arose—one of those continually-occurring disputes which amuse the student of mediæval history by their ludicrous contrast with the assumption that the ecclesiastical machinery of the middle ages was perfectly adjusted in all its parts, and wrought with unfailing smoothness. Roger of York had sent representatives to claim the office for him, and the suffragans of Canterbury were willing to admit the claim, as sanctioned by usage, if Roger would restore the canonical subjection which he had withdrawn from their Metropolitan; but this was a condition to which it was certain that the contentious northern Primate would not submit. Henry of Winchester (who, on the death of his brother Stephen, had retired to Cluny, but had lately returned after an absence of seven years)[b] claimed the function, as precentor of the province, and entitled to represent the provincial dean, the Bishop of London, during the vacancy of that see. Walter of

[a] Herb., vii. 31; Gervase, 1382.

[b] Pauli, iii. 6, 31. There are letters of Theobald, urging his return (Joh. Sarisb., Epp. 98, 99, 101).

Rochester asserted similar pretensions as provincial chaplain of the Archbishop; while it is said that a Welsh bishop also put in a claim, on the ground of seniority in the episcopate.[a] After much discussion the question was decided in favour of the Bishop of Winchester, whose pretensions were supported by a letter from the London clergy; and the Bishop of Rochester was obliged to content himself with officiating at the ordination of the Archbishop-elect to the priesthood. This took place on Saturday in Whitsun-week, and on the following day (which from that date was celebrated in England as Trinity Sunday)[b] Becket was consecrated as Archbishop by the Bishop of Winchester, with thirteen other bishops.[c]

One more form yet remained—that of obtaining the pall, which was the special emblem of a Metropolitan's connexion with the Roman see. For this purpose Adam, abbot of Evesham, John of Salisbury, and another clerk, were despatched to Pope Alexander III., whom they found lately arrived at Montpellier, as a fugitive from the factions of his city, and from the strength of a rival supported by the Emperor.[d] The cardinals of his court, in several interviews, insisted on gifts for themselves

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[a] So Gervase states (1382); but what Welsh bishop could have made such a claim? The Bishop of Winchester, consecrated in 1129, appears to have been the senior of his order. The Welsh prelates present were those of St. David's, Llandaff, and "Godefridus Lanelvensis," *i. e.*, Geoffrey of Monmouth, bishop of Llanelly or St. Asaph.

[b] Steph. Birchington, in Wharton, Ang. Sac., i. 8. See Mr. Griffiths' note in the late Oxford edition of Inett, ii. 303.

[c] Gervase, 1382-3; Herb., 33; Aelred, 533.

[d] Alexander was at Montpellier from April 15 to the month of July. See Jaffé, 'Regesta Pontificum.'

and the Pope as a necessary condition of the pall,—more especially, they urged, as they had been driven from Rome, and were deprived of their revenues. To this the envoys replied that they themselves had come from a distant country, and had spent almost all their money; that they wished to receive the pall "holily and purely," so as to exclude all pretence for any charge of simony; and, on being admitted to an audience of Alexander, the abbot of Evesham stoutly repeated this declaration. The Pope was found more reasonable than his cardinals, and the envoys returned with the pall, which their master received with the greatest reverence, going forth barefooted to meet them, and prostrating himself before the mystic symbol of his new dignity.[a]

The promotion of Becket to the archbishopric was followed, as every reader knows, by a change in his manner of life; but there are questions as to the nature of this change: What was its extent, and how was it managed? It is commonly supposed to have been something extremely sudden, violent, and conspicuous; that Becket had hitherto been altogether a man of the world in appearance, and now all at once threw himself into a course of ostentatious asceticism. The late apologists, on the other hand, endeavour to prove that this is an exaggeration in both ways; that, while Chancellor, he showed a becoming sense of his duties as an

[a] Garnier, 60*-1*; Fitzst. (202), who gives an interpretation of its mysteries:—"Duæ lineæ propendentes sunt duæ leges," &c.

"Einsi i vint Thomas senz dun e senz pechié;
Ni ad pur ceo denier ne or ne argent baillié.
Essample i deiuent prendre li successur del sié."—*Garnier*, 61.

ecclesiastic, and his life was pure to a degree then unusual; that the alteration of his habits was gradual, and was carefully guarded from everything that might savour of ostentation.

The scorn and indignation bestowed by these apologists on the writers who have chimed in with the popular belief and have assisted in propagating it, appear to us somewhat unfair. For the Becket of the popular belief—whether true or false—is in this respect no invention of Fox, or Lyttelton, or Hume, or Pinnock's 'Catechism,' or Exeter Hall. He is a tradition derived from his admirers of the days before the Reformation, and it is on them that the falsification of his character—if such falsification there has been—ought, in all reason and justice, to be charged. With them originated not only that idea as to the fashion of their hero's sanctity which is so offensive to Protestant tastes, but the representation of his change as startling and abrupt; for it is not among Protestants only that the most violent "conversion" is most congenial to the spirit of vulgar religionism. Even in the contemporary biographers and panegyrists there is language which might seem to intimate *such* a change,* although their more particular details may serve to correct our interpre-

* E. g.: Joh. Sarisb. in S. T. C., i. 323.—"Consecratus autem, statim veterem exuit hominem, cilicium et monachum induit." Will. Cant., ib. ii. 5.—"Tanquam jam transformatus in virum alterum." Herb., ib. vii. 38.—"Tanquam veteris hominis indumento rejectâ purpurâ, sicut corpore et mente exivit aulam, exuit purpuram, et cilicium induit, novum novi hominis habitum," &c. (The accusative after *exeo* is usual in mediæval Latin: indeed it is not without classical examples. See Facciolati. But Dr. Giles seems to be wrong in reading *exivit* twice.) Cf. Grim, 16, 18-9, and other biographers.

tation of it. But when Thomas of Canterbury was raised to the rank of a saint, he became, according to the principles of those days, a subject on which the fancy might piously expatiate without regard to the actual facts of his story.[a] Imaginary adventures were then ascribed to him—nay, as we have seen, even his birth, like that of some old heathen demigod, had a romantic fable connected with it. The accounts of his life were embellished with a profusion of miracles, his character was idealised at will, and that which is now treated by some as a slander of his enemies was, in truth, the expression of the reverence of his devotees. It was his admirers—even his contemporary admirers—who dwelt on the particulars of his mortifications, without marking the process by which he may have gradually increased them. It was they who insisted on the frequent discipline, on the shirt of hair, with its verminous population, hourly inflicting on the saint a torment in comparison of which the sufferings of his martyrdom were but a trifle.[b] The suddenness of his change was

[a] "Je dirai en passant," says Bayle, "que les fictions des anciens seraient un peu plus supportables qu'elles ne le sont s'ils s'étaient donné la peine de ne pas tant se contredire les uns les autres; mais il paraît qu'ils ont regardé leur histoire fabuleuse comme un pays où chacun faisait ce qu'il lui plaisait, sans dépendance d'autrui" (Art. *Achille*, p. 159, ed. Paris, 1820). This is spoken of the Pagan mythology, but is equally applicable to the subject before us.

[b] "Cilicium sic bestiunculis obsitum ut levius isto pristinæ diei [*i.e.* the day of the murder] martyrium quivis judicaret, et hostes majores minoribus minus nocuisse" (Grim, 82; *cf.* Garnier, 102, 156; Fitzst., 203). Mr. Froude, who had before him no other early authority for the vermin than Fitzstephen, declares that he "sees no adequate proof" of it (564). But even if Fitzstephen were a false witness, and unsupported by others, the fact is not to

even enshrined as a glorious fact in narratives which became a part of the service of the Church.[a] In short, the ostentation of his severities is the only part of the prevailing idea which is to be referred to the moderns as its authors; and this is rather an inference (surely of a very colourable kind) than an invention.

The popular notion, however, is considerably wrong. What Becket's more private habits had been in the days of his Chancellorship, we cannot very positively say. He was, we are told (and we may easily believe it), munificent in his almsgiving, as in his other expenditure.[b] His chastity has been impeached, but (the biographers assure us) unjustly, and various stories are told in his purgation.[c] As to this, indeed, it would seem, from the statement of one friend, that the most secular period of his life, the Chancellorship, was more blameless than some earlier portions of it;[d] and it is said that, in the time of his splendour, he was in the habit of subjecting himself to constant bodily discipline,—Fitzstephen, for our conviction on this point, favouring

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be slurred over that Becket's contemporaries dwelt on this as a token of his sanctity.

[a] Thus in a Lesson of the Sarum Breviary, it was said "Consecratus, repente mutatus est in alium virum. Cilicium clam induit," &c. (fol. xxxv., ed. Paris, 1533). Dr. Giles (S. T. C., ii. 9) and Mr. Buss (xx.) are not aware that a "Passion," which they suppose to have been first printed at Mentz in 1604, is, with the exception of some additions, identical with the Sarum Lessons. In another "Passion" we have the words which have been quoted in the preceding note from Grim (S. T. C., ii. 160).

[b] Roger, 103; Garnier, 51*.

[c] Grim, 13; Roger, 104; Fitzst., 189; Joh. Sarisb. in S. T. C., i. 320; Garnier, 52*.

[d] Fitzst., 189.

us with the very names of the flagellators both at London and at Canterbury.[a]

The Archbishop's life, however, was to be stricter than the Chancellor's. It is, indeed, a mistake to suppose that he renounced all outward pomp; and when M. Thierry tells us that within a few days after his consecration he had "stripped off his rich attire, disfurnished his sumptuous palace, broken with his noble familiars, and allied himself with the poor, the beggars, and the *Saxons*,"[b] the misstatement in favour of the writer's theory is altogether ludicrous. What palace was it that Becket unfurnished? We may presume that his change of office involved a removal, and that he may have taken his furniture with him; but if the meaning be that the archiepiscopal residence was in his time worse furnished or worse appointed than it had been during Theobald's primacy (which is the only meaning that would be relevant), we are amply assured of the contrary—that Thomas was more splendid in his establishment than any former archbishop; and while it is true that he paid especial attention to the poor, and that twenty-six of this class daily fed in his hall,[c] the remainder of M. Thierry's statement appears to be pure invention. The Archbishop was, indeed, soon involved in quarrels with various nobles; yet this was not from any enmity of Saxon against Norman, or of one class against another, but because these nobles, indi-

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[a] S. T. C., i. 190.
[b] iii. 109.
[c] Roger, 111; Joh. Sarisb. in S. T. C., i. 324; Anon. Lamb., 81.

vidually, interfered with what he regarded as the rights of his see; and the mention of Saxons is here, as in many other passages of the French historian, a merely gratuitous insertion.

Herbert of Bosham describes the order of the Archbishop's hall. Near him, on his right, sat his clerks, who were generally selected for their learning; on the left sat monks; at some distance were placed the knights or other laymen, that their untaught ears might not be annoyed by the sound of the Latin books which were read aloud for the edification of the clergy.[a] Clerical guests were honourably entertained; but with the exception of such as the Archbishop desired especially to honour, they were not admitted to sit with the "eruditi." Throughout the time of dinner the Archbishop continually had his eyes on all, and, if any one were placed too low, made up for the mistake by sending him portions of delicate food or drink from his own table.[b] Gold and silver plate adorned the board; the provisions were plentiful, and of the best quality;[c] and so far was the Archbishop from limiting his company to beggars and Saxons,[d] that his enemies accused him of having about him "not men of religion (*i. e.* monks), but lettered nobles."[e]

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[a] Herb. in Quadril., 24. (Dr. Giles's MS. is defective here.) See Mapes, de Nugis Curialium, 41.

[b] Herb. in S. T. C., vii. 63, 71.

[c] Roger, 111; Joh. Sarisb. in S. T. C., i. 324.

[d] "C'était pour eux seulement que sa salle de festin était ouverte, et son argent prodigué," says Thierry, iii. 109.

[e] "Non religiosos, sed literatos nobiles." Nic. de Monte Rothomag. (master of a hospital at Mont St. Jacques, near Rouen; see 'Hist. Litt. de la France,' xiii. 393-5) ap. Thom. Epp. ii. 188. Mr. Froude rather strangely renders this, "not persons remarkable for their religion, but for their *intellectual rank*" (132). In opposition to this charge

"All the gifts of grace in him," says Grim, "were so veiled by outward pride, that, even when he was Archbishop, one would have supposed him a man who lived for nothing but the pomp of this world." [a]

His own habits were now severe: he slept little, and ate sparingly. As to his drink, some biographers tell us that it was water in which fennel had been boiled to render it unpalatable,[b] while others state that the coldness of his stomach rendered him unable to endure water, but that, "according to the admonition of the master and physician to his disciple" (1 Tim. v. 23), he drank wine in extremely small quantity;[c] and we see no reason (except, indeed, the general untruthfulness of the early biographers) to doubt that his use of the cilice dated from the beginning of his archiepiscopate. His liberality in almsgiving is much insisted on by his contemporaries: Theobald, it is said, doubled the regular alms of his predecessors, and Thomas doubled Theobald's.[d] When, however, it is stated, after much detail,

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we are told by John of Salisbury, "Religiosos viros tantâ reverentiâ excipiebat, ut credi posset se in eis divinam præsentiam aut angelos venerari" (S. T. C., i. 324); and monks are mentioned among those who daily fed at his table (see Herbert, as cited in p. 53; also Fitzst., 204); but at least M. Thierry's statement is ridiculously incorrect.

[a] 13. Dr. Giles reads *accitasse*, which, as the word is unknown, I have translated as if it were *extitisse*.

[b] Fitzst., 203. Some say *fœnum* instead of *fœniculum*—hay, instead of fennel.

[c] Garnier, 102; Herbert, 70. Garnier tells us that, "pur le freit ventrail," he also "gengibre e girofre à puignies mangeit." "In cibis et potibus," says John of Salisbury, "medium tenuit, ne prorsus abstinens argueretur superstitionis, aut immodice sumens crapula gravaretur" (S. T. C., i. 324).

[d] Theobald's immediate predecessor, William of Corboil, was noted for his love of money. See the 'Gesta Stephani,' ed. Sewell (Eng. Hist. Soc.), p. 6.

that a tenth of his income sufficed for this quadrupled almsgiving,[a] we cannot help drawing some inferences not quite consistent with that idea of mediæval charity which is now generally current to the disparagement of our own.

Rising at cock-crow, the Archbishop employed the beginning of his day in chanting the appropriate office: he confessed his sins, and received a flagellation, which was repeated thrice or oftener during the day.[b] He then gave some time to the study of Scripture, in company with Herbert or some other one of his clerks;[c] after which he shut himself up from all access until nine o'clock, when he proceeded to hear or celebrate mass. Unlike some priests, who, according to Herbert, thought to show their piety by lengthening out this service, he was rapid in his celebration, in proportion to the eagerness of his devotion; and such was his emotion that he wept and sighed profusely, as if the very sacrifice of the cross were before his eyes.[d] After leaving the chapel he took his seat in his court, where he astonished the suitors by refusing all presents except such as he could not with decency decline;[e] and in judicial or other business the remaining hours of the forenoon were employed;[f] while throughout the day all the time which

[a] Buss says, "wozu er alle seine Zehnten verwandte" (187), as if he gave, not a tenth of his income, but all that he received from *tithes* (which would probably have been more); and Mr. Morris (68) makes the same statement; but, although Roger (110) seems to countenance this, Fitzstephen (S. T. C., i. 204), John of Salisbury (ib. 324), and the Lambeth biographer (ib. ii. 82) are clear on the other side.

[b] Herb., 43; Grim, 63.

[c] Herb., 43.

[d] Herb., 52; Joh. Sarisb., 323.

[e] Herb., 53-8.

[f] Anon. Lamb., 80.

could be spared from necessary engagements was given up to study, or to conversation with his chaplains.[a]

Much is said (as we have already intimated) of the pains which Becket took to conceal his sanctity. Fitzstephen, while he represents him as drinking nothing but fennel water, tells us that he put the wine-cup to his lips before it was passed round.[b] The dishes served up to him were of the most delicate kind, and his abstinence, in order that it might escape notice, was exercised not in the matter of quality, but of quantity. Herbert relates a story of a stranger monk, who was one day observed to smile at the daintiness of his entertainer's food. "If I mistake not, brother," said the Archbishop, somewhat nettled, "there is more greediness in your eating of your beans than in my eating of this pheasant;" and the biographer goes on to say that the monk, although he did not care for delicacies, to which he had not been accustomed, was noted, during his stay at Canterbury, as "in good sooth a greedy devourer of coarser things."[c]

A similar concealment was practised in the matter of dress. "He wished," says Grim, "to avoid men's eyes, until the new plant which Divine grace had set in his breast should be more deeply rooted, so that it need not fear the blasts of the world; and therefore he did not at once change his attire."[d] It was not until

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[a] Anon. Lamb., 80.

[b] 203.

[c] 68. St. Augustine says that from the case of Esau's mess of pottage we learn "in vescendo, non cibi genere sed aviditate immoderata quemque culpandum" (De Civ. Dei, xvi. 37). Compare the Greek Life of Theodore the Studite, ap. Sirmond. Opera, v. 8.

[d] 16.

one of the Canterbury monks had been charged in a dream to warn him against retaining a secular dress, and until he found that murmurs were excited by his wearing it in the choir, that he assumed another habit.[a] "His outward appearance," says Fitzstephen,[b] "was like the multitude, but within all things were otherwise." And Herbert tells us that his dress was gay during the first year, and afterwards respectable and grave, "so that, as one saith, there should neither be an affected shabbiness nor an elaborate finery."[c] Over the cilice (which, for the sake of cleanliness,[d] was changed once in *forty* days) he wore a monastic habit, as head of the community of Christchurch and for the sake of likeness to his predecessors, who, with very few exceptions, had been monks by profession;[e] and above this the dress of a canon, that he might be in conformity with his clerks.[f]

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[a] Garnier, 59; Roger, 110-1.

[b] 203: cf. Joh. Sarisb., 323; Anon. Lamb., 81.

[c] "Ita ut nec exquisitæ essent sordes, nec affectatæ deliciæ" (Herb., 41). This comes originally from St. Jerome (ad Eustoch. Ep. xxii. 37, ed. Vallarsi, "Nec affectatæ sordes nec exquisitæ munditiæ conveniunt Christiano"); but Herbert probably got the quotation through the medium of Gratian (Dist., xli. 1), who reads *deliciæ* for *munditiæ*, and then himself interchanged the epithets for the worse.

[d] "Pur vers et pur suur," Garnier, 103.

[e] Garnier, 59-60; W. Cant., 5; Orderic. Vital., xii. 16 (Patrol., clxxxviii. 897); Eadmer, Hist. Nov. v. (ib., clix. 489); W. Malmesb. Gesta Pontif. (ib., clxxix. 1505). Two of the exceptions were noted as of evil omen: Elfsin, who is said to have been chosen after the death of Odo, and to have been frozen to death in the Alps when on his way to ask for the pall at Rome; and Stigand, who was irregularly appointed under Edward the Confessor, and deprived after the Conquest (Will. Cant., l. c.). Another was William of Corboil, as to whose election see Sym. Dunelm. A.D. 1123.

[f] Fitzst., 203. Fuller speaks of his "clothes built *three stories* high." (Ch. Hist. b. iii., p. 312, ed. Nichols.) The whole subject

In almsgiving, too, he is said to have carefully studied secrecy. In addition to those deeds of mercy which might be done before men without any especial profession of sanctity, he had, we are told, thirteen poor men daily introduced into his apartment at the hour when they were least likely to be observed—usually before daybreak, immediately after his earliest devotions. He washed and kissed their feet, regaled them with a plentiful meal, at which he himself waited on them, and sent them away with a present of four pieces of silver to each.[a]

We must think that this last part of the story throws suspicion on all the rest. The daily taking-in of beggars, foot-washing, feeding, and giving of money, could not be carried on without becoming known. "The fame of them," says Lord Lyttelton, "was increased by the affectation of secrecy;"[b] and such *must* have been the consequence, whether it were intended or otherwise. And in all likelihood some part of the other observances must have also got abroad. It might be, indeed, that no one but the saint's confessor or his chamberlain saw his shirt of hair while he lived;[c] but might not whispers of it be spread by the one or two persons who were in the secret? Nay, might not credit have been given to him for such mortifications out of mere surmise? Other saints had been discovered to have practised secret austerities: what more probable than that the like should

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of Becket's dress is treated by Mr. Morris with an enviable solemnity, 65.

[a] Fitzst., 204; Joh. Sarisb., 324; Herb., 43; Anon. Lamb., 81.

[b] ii. 342.

[c] Garnier, 103.

be assumed, even without any evidence, by a religious party as to one whom it was disposed to look up to?[a]

But was the Archbishop in all this acting the part of a hypocrite? We believe nothing of the kind.

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[a] "Quando in sanctis viris latent ista, quærentibus, velint nolint, cuncta produntur." Sulp. Severus, Dial. ii. 1, fin.

CHAPTER V.

THE BEGINNING OF TROUBLES.—A.D. 1162-3.

WE have seen that Archbishop Theobald and his episcopal advisers, in introducing Becket to the Court of Henry, aimed at securing the interest of the Church by means of the influence which they expected him to acquire over the King; and some of the biographers tell us that he always kept this object in view. They represent him, during his Chancellorship, as doing all that in prudence he could do to check the tendency to aggression and encroachment; as continually averting measures which were intended against the Church, and as becoming an unwilling instrument in such measures of this kind as he could not prevent, in order that by getting the execution of them into his own hands he might render them less oppressive to his brethren than they would otherwise have been.* But, however this may be, it is certain that he showed no outward sign of unwillingness to take part in the King's proceedings—nay, that he was generally regarded as the instigator of them. In the war of Toulouse, especially, he was supposed to have advised the imposition of a peculiarly

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* Roger, 101-2; Anon. Lambeth., 79; Garnier, 53*.

"Ut furor illorum [Aulicorum] mitescat, dissimulare
Multa solet, simulat quod sit et ipse furens;
Omnibus omnia fit, specie tenus induit hostem," &c.
—Joh. Sarisb., Enthetic., 1437, *seqq.*

heavy tax on the clergy; and so secret was the fact of his having been really adverse to it, that Foliot afterwards charged him with having "plunged a sword into the bowels of his mother the Church" by the exaction,[a] and Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter, was not aware of the real state of the matter until informed of it by John of Salisbury in 1166.[b] In another case, where the abbot of Battle, in reliance on a charter of William the Conqueror, denied the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Chichester, the Chancellor, in delivering the judgment of a great assembly, before which the question was tried, had strongly asserted the royal prerogative in such matters against the Bishop's references to the authority of the Pope.[c] He had been noted, according to John of Salisbury, as a "despiser of the clergy,"[d] and such, on the whole, was the character which he had established, that Foliot, at his election to the archbishopric, objected to him as "a persecutor and destroyer of holy Church;" while the Bishop of Win-

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[a] Ep. 194, p. 269.

[b] Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 145. Mr. Froude ascribes Becket's conduct in this affair to the eagerness of his character, which disposed him to take any means which seemed readiest to raise funds for "a war which he had begun with success" (579). But this view is unknown alike to the assailants and to the defenders of the Archbishop's character in his own age. Is there any ground for supposing that the exaction was made after the beginning of the war? Lord Lyttelton is certainly wrong (ii.137) in supposing a letter of Theobald (Ep. Joh. Sarisb., 49) to relate to this matter, and to be a censure on Becket. See Lappenberg in Pauli, iii. 22-3; and for Theobald's relations with Becket, Joh. Sarisb., Epp. 71, 78.

[c] 'Chronicon Monasterii de Bello,' published by the 'Anglia Christiana,' Society, Lond., 1846, pp. 91-2, 98. See Appendix VII.

[d] See above, p. 37.

chester had only been able to reply by expressing a hope that the wolf would be turned into a shepherd of Christ's sheep—the persecuting Saul into a Paul.[a]

In procuring the Chancellor's elevation to the primacy, Henry, no doubt, supposed that he should continue to find him a ready instrument of his will, especially in matters relating to the Church.[b] Becket is said, indeed, as we have seen, to have declared that, if the promotion should take place, his friendship with the King would be changed into hostility; but it is certain that, whether from the manner in which the words were spoken, or from whatever other reason, Henry did not believe them, and went on without any apprehension to carry through the promotion of his favourite. His surprise, therefore, was great at receiving from the new Archbishop a request that he would provide himself with another Chancellor.[c] What was the motive of this? The office of Chancellor was not regarded as incompatible with that of a bishop, either on account of its nature or on account of the labour attached to it. Bishops and archbishops had held it before, and were to hold it in later times, and the same conjunction of offices was customary in other countries,

[a] Garnier, 57*.

[b] Grim, 13; Fitzst., 202.

"E quida k'l senist [servist?] partut ses volentez."—*Garnier*, 55*.

[c] The precise time of this is uncertain, but it was very soon after the consecration (see Rog. Wendover, ii. 293; Foss, i. 202; Pauli, 33); although Buss infers from William of Canterbury (S. T. C., ii. 5) that the interval was longer, and Robert of Gloucester represents him as keeping the Chancellorship, and continuing to enjoy the royal favour, until

"Lute and lute the contek aros for porë manes rizte,"

in the matter of the taillage or Danegelt, which will be mentioned hereafter (15-7).

—the Archbishops of Mentz and Cologne being at that very time, as Henry was aware, Chancellors of Germany and Italy respectively.[a] The chancellorship must, indeed, from a regard to decency, have been less splendid and martial in the hands of the Archbishop than it had been in those of the Archdeacon; but there was nothing in its proper duties which might not very well be reconciled with his new functions. And, at least, if the offices were incompatible, the time for declaring them so was ill-chosen, unless it were intended to bear a peculiar significance. On the one hand, Becket might have stated his conviction before the King had taken the irrevocable step of raising him to the primacy; or, on the other hand, he might have waited until he should be able to say from sufficient experience that one man could not perform, or ought not to combine, the two duties. The resignation was, in truth, nothing less than a declaration of what M. Michelet styles "the incurable duality of the middle ages, distracted between religion and the State."[b] The Archbishop could no longer serve the King as his officer: he must take up a position of his own.[c] Henry could not

[a] Diceto, 534. (This and other passages are printed by Dr. Giles from a MS. in the British Museum, without being aware that they are from Diceto.) Alexander III. desired a bishop of Soissons to resign the chancellorship of France, on the ground that it was incompatible with the care of his diocese (Ep. 882, Patrol. cc.); but this was in 1171, after Becket's death.

[b] Hist. de France, iii. 167.

[c] Dr. Lingard's remark here is hardly in keeping with his usual care to abstain from the more vulgar sort of fallacies: "A more certain path would certainly have offered itself to ambition. By continuing to flatter the King's wishes, and by uniting in himself the offices of Chancellor and Archbishop, he might, in all proba-

but feel that he was deceived. Not a word had the Chancellor breathed as to retiring from his service until by the King's earnest exertion he had been seated on the throne of Canterbury; and then all at once the "duality" was proclaimed. Becket was no longer the servant of the Crown, but purely the representative of the Church; he was independent of the King; he might become his antagonist, and this seemed very like a preparation for coming out as such.

While, however, he was so eager to divest himself of the Chancellorship, he was in no hurry to give up another preferment which to many eyes appeared less reconcilable with his new dignity—the archdeaconry of his own diocese; nor was it until after much delay, and much urgency on the King's part, that he was persuaded to resign it. The panegyrical biographers in general omit this passage of the story, and the apologists of our own day appear to find it somewhat of a difficulty. "This," says Dr. Giles, "is another point of which modern historians have availed themselves to malign his character; but the account of it is so meagre that it may be difficult to ascribe to the affair its true character."[a] But why, we may ask, is the account so meagre? And if the reason of this be that the eulogists of Becket thought it well to suppress all notice of the affair, we cannot quite agree with Dr. Giles in inferring that *therefore* the Archbishop's behaviour was

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bility, have ruled without control both in Church and State" (ii. 118). But ambition is a perverse thing!

[a] Life and Letters of Becket, i. 135.

blameless. The fact may possibly have been, as Archdeacon Churton states in his valuable little work on our early Church history, that Becket was actuated solely by unwillingness "to appoint a friend of the King's to be Archdeacon of Canterbury."[a] Certain it is that Geoffrey Ridel, the person eventually appointed, was a friend of Henry, and proved to be an opponent of the Archbishop.[b] But we cannot think that Archdeacon Churton's is the necessary construction of the passage in Diceto, who, without saying anything of Ridel, or of the King's wish to recommend him, merely tells us that Becket for a time put off his resignation of the archdeaconry, and then "at length handed it over, as the King desired."[c] But, on the other hand, we do not believe, with Mr. Sharon Turner, that a love of the emoluments attached to the office was his motive, or even one of his motives, for wishing to retain it.

The Archbishop's next acts were of a nature to stir up numerous and powerful enemies against him. Many of the possessions of his see had been alienated to lay hands, and these he determined to resume, in order, according to Grim, that he might be able to increase his charities,[d] but more probably with a view of asserting the rights of his office to the full extent in which he conceived them. The alienation had most likely been in many cases wrongful and informal, and, if so, there were courts to which an appeal might have been made

[a] 1st ed., p. 343.

[b] See Appendix VIII.

[c] "Transtulit tandem sicut rex petiit" (Col. 534). Wendover speaks of Ridel as one of Becket's chaplains ("clerico suo"), ii. 297.

[d] p. 19.

for redress—as Lanfranc had recovered many manors for the see from Odo of Bayeux, who had seized them as Earl of Kent.[a] But Becket was at no time fond of quiet and tardy measures; he proceeded at once, by main force, to oust the farmers and seize the lands, declaring that no one had any right to call him to account for such acts.[b] If it be true, as Fitzstephen says, that he had fortified himself with the King's permission before entering on these proceedings,[c] there can at least be no doubt that the licence was used in a manner which Henry had not anticipated; and there was no want of unfriendly whisperers to inflame his mind against the Archbishop. It was said that Becket had spoken disrespectfully of Henry's youth, levity, and violent temper; that he had boasted of his own ascendency over the King;[d] and all his actions were represented in the most invidious light. "The ungodly," says John of Salisbury, "strove by their malicious interpretations to darken the change which the right hand of the Most High had wrought, ascribing it to superstition that he led a straiter life. His zeal for justice they traduced as cruelty; his care for the interests of the Church they attributed to covetousness; his contempt of worldly favour they styled a hunting after glory; his courtly splendour was falsely called pride. That he followed the will which had been taught him from above, was branded as a mark of arrogance; that in the maintenance of his right he often seemed

[a] Gervase, 1655.
[b] Herb., 85.
[c] S. T. C., i. 208.
[d] Arnulf. ap. Lupum, Ep. i. 85, p. 126; Grim, 20.

to go beyond the bounds of his predecessors, was held to be a token of foolhardiness. Nothing could now be said or done by him without being perverted by the malice of the wicked, insomuch that they even persuaded the King that, if the Archbishop's power should go forward, the royal dignity would assuredly be brought to nought—that, unless he looked to it for himself and his heirs, the Crown would be at the disposal of the clergy, and kings would reign only so long as the archbishop should please."[a]

At Christmas, 1162, the Archbishop, accompanied by Prince Henry, who was still under his charge, went to Southampton for the purpose of meeting the King on his landing in England. The accounts of their interview are very contradictory. One of the old writers represents Henry's behaviour as extremely cordial;[b] another speaks of it as showing, by its coolness, that the days of Becket's favour were over;[c] while a third tells us that the King concealed his real feelings towards him under a show of great respect and affection.[d] Nor are the moderns better agreed in their accounts of the meeting; for while Dr. Giles assures us that Henry was gratified by finding that his nominee was in high repute for piety, we are told by M. Thierry that he put on an air of contempt "at seeing, in a monk's frock, the man whom he had made so much of when attired as a Norman courtier, with dagger at his side, plumed cap on his head, and shoes with their long points turned

[a] S. T. C., i. 376-7: cf. Gerv., 1670; Fitzst., 207-8; Anon. Lamb., 83.

[b] Herb., i. 87.

[c] Diceto, col. 134.

[d] Anon. Lamb., 84.

back, like rams' horns."[a] And the reports of the impression which the meeting made on those who witnessed it are naturally no less difficult to reconcile. But whatever Henry's demeanour at Southampton may have been, he still left his heir-apparent in the Archbishop's hands; and when Becket, on preparing to set out for the Council of Tours, a few months later, resigned the charge of his royal pupil, it is said by Herbert that he spent some days with the King on terms of the most friendly intercourse.[b]

At Tours, an assembly of seventeen cardinals, a hundred and twenty-four bishops, and four hundred and fourteen abbots, met in Whitsun week, 1163, under the presidency of Pope Alexander III.,[c] to declare in his behalf against Cardinal Octavian, who in 1159 had been elected in opposition to Alexander, and, under the name of Victor IV., was acknowledged as Pope by the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. Throughout his journey to this council the Archbishop of Canterbury was everywhere received with honours such as were usually paid to a sovereign. On the announcement of his approach to Tours, a multitude of prelates, clergy, and laity flocked forth to meet him. He was received outside the gates by all the cardinals except two, whom the Pope retained for the sake of form; and on his entering the palace in which Alexander was lodged, the Pope himself, "who scarce riseth up to any one," left his private apartment and received him in the hall. At the sessions of the

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[a] iii. 110.—There is a learned history of this fashion as to shoes in the Introduction to vol. xvi. of the 'Recueil des Historiens de la France.'

[b] Herb., 88.

[c] Hardouin, Concilia, VI. ii. 1596, 1601.

council he was placed on the Pope's right hand, so as to hold precedence of all other archbishops; and his lodging was thronged by ecclesiastics and nobles eager to pay their court to him.[a] It is said by William of Newburgh[b] that on this occasion he resigned his archbishopric into the Pope's hands, on the ground of having been irregularly advanced to the dignity, and that Alexander graciously restored it; but if such a resignation ever took place, it was, as we shall see hereafter, most probably at a later time.[c]

An attempt which the Archbishop made to procure the canonization of his predecessor Anselm was but imperfectly successful.[d] There is a letter of Alexander to him, stating that the canonization of Anselm had been deferred at the council on account of the multitude of similar claims, but desiring him to lay the matter before the English bishops, and leaving it to their decision.[e] Perhaps the English bishops were not disposed to proceed with the canonization of a prelate whose enrolment in the catalogue of saints must at that time have seemed less a homage to his unquestionable merits than a consecration of resistance to the temporal power; or, indeed, the troubles which so speedily followed are enough to account for the abandonment of the attempt. But, from whatever reason, the canonization of Anselm was de-

[a] Herb., 88-90; Hardouin, VI. ii. 1601-2; Reuter, i. 332.

[b] ii. 16.

[c] See Baron., 1163, 18; Pauli, 34. Professor Reuter, however, believes that such a scene took place at Tours (i. 339).

[d] It was in support of this that John of Salisbury drew up his Life of Anselm, abridged from Eadmer, and embellished with additional miracles.

[e] Alex. ap. Foliot, Ep. 337.

layed until the reign of Henry VII., when it was decreed by Alexander VI., at the instance of Cardinal Morton.[a]

Becket returned from Tours with a confirmation of the privileges of his see,[b] and perhaps with a mind somewhat inflamed by a discourse in which Arnulf of Lisieux had asserted the unity and independence of the Church[c]—although, in his denunciation of secular "tyrants," the politic orator had probably meant only to point at the Emperor and his allies, and had certainly not intended to endanger his own relations with King Henry. But that his later course of proceedings had been concerted at Tours with Alexander,[d] is an idea which must seem very improbable, if we consider how undesirable any breach with the sovereign of England and of half the territory of France must then have appeared to an exiled Pope.

Ever since the Archbishop's elevation, attempts had been actively carried on to influence the King against him; and soon after his return from Tours some things fell out which might have sufficed to provoke Henry, even without any commentary from the whisperers of the court. It was apparently about this time that, in preaching before the King, he descanted on the "boundless" superiority of ecclesiastical to secular power in a

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[a] The bull, dated 1494, is in Wilkins (iii. 641). Mr. Morris (who, by the way, supposes Henry the *Sixth* to have been king in 1494) tells us that additional honours were bestowed on St. Anselm in 1720 by Clement XI. "at the prayer of King James III."! (p. 412).

[b] Herb., 90.

[c] Johnson, Canons, ii. 48, ed. Ang. Cath. Lib. The speech may be found in the Concilia, or in Patrol. cci.

[d] As is said by Carte, ii. 579, and by Inett, ii. 239.

style which not unnaturally startled a prince among whose predecessors and relatives the Hildebrandine doctrine as to such matters had never found much acceptance;[a] and the view which the Primate took of his own position and of the rights of the clergy was soon amply illustrated. Of the cases in which he attempted a resumption of property which had belonged to his see,[b] the most remarkable were two connected with grants from the Crown. In one of these cases the Archbishop claimed the custody of Rochester Castle, on the ground that it had been bestowed on one of his predecessors;[c] in the other he required Roger, Earl of Clare, to do him homage for the castle and "lowy" of Tunbridge, although the Earl's family had held it of the Crown for almost a century, having originally acquired it from the Conqueror in exchange for the castle of Brionne, in Normandy.[d]

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[a] See Roger, 112; Anon. Lamb., 85-6.

[b] Carte supposes that his proceedings were grounded on the third canon of Tours, which was directed against the alienation of Church property (i. 579); but the abuses denounced in that canon ("Siquis laico in sæculo remanenti *ecclesiam, decimam, oblationemve* concesserit") appear to be of a different kind from those which Becket attacked.

[c] By William the Conqueror, according to Herbert, 86; but the grant seems rather to have been made by Henry I. in 1126 (Flor. Vigorn. Contin., ii. 85).

[d] Fitzst., 208; Herb., 86; Diceto, 536; Gervase, 1384; Wendover, ii. 298. I have followed Diceto and Gervase in placing these claims after the Council of Tours. It is said that the domain round Brionne was measured with a rope, and that, the rope being brought to England, a like circuit was measured with it round Tunbridge (Guil. Gemetic. contin. ap. Bouquet, xii. 575). *Lowy* = *leuca* or *leuga*, "quæ vulgo *banleuga*, dicitur, sive, ut dicam Latinius, *bannum leugæ*," says Herbert, 86. "Leuga, quæ vulgo *bailie* vocatur" (Gervas. 1670). See Camden's 'Britannia,' transl. by Holland, Lond. 1610, p. 350; Hasted, 'Hist. of Kent,' ii. 308, folio edit.

These two cases, so curiously contrasted, gave indications of an alarming principle, which indeed the Archbishop was not unwilling openly to avow. Everything that had ever been given to the Church was to be claimed, while nothing that had been parted with was to be abandoned; and documents were to be reckoned valid or worthless, according as they made for or against the ecclesiastical claims. Nobles and knights, nay, the King himself, began to feel themselves insecure in their possessions, while the chaplains of the court, and other clergy who depended on lay patrons, trembled lest they should be ejected from their preferments.[a]

About the same time a quarrel arose as to the church of Eynesford. The Archbishop, considering himself entitled to the patronage of all churches situated on estates held under his see, presented a clerk named Laurence to Eynesford; whereupon William, the lord of the place, "objecting to the right of nomination, expelled Laurence's people,"[b] and for this the Archbishop excommunicated him. It would seem not only that William believed himself to be in the right, but that he really was so, as the Church of Canterbury afterwards accepted the advowson of Eynesford by way of donation from him;[c] while, even if the Archbishop's title to the patronage had been better founded than it appears to have been, it had at least been long dormant.[d] And, lest we should be too

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[a] Grim, 20.

[b] Fitzst., 208; Giles, 'Life and Letters,' i. 162-3. See Hasted's 'Kent,' i. 306.

[c] See Gervase, 1675; Carte, i. 580.

[d] The Archbishops were very ready to claim patronage which did not belong to them. Thus, Fitzstephen, in relating this, says

much shocked at the violence of William's proceedings, it ought to be remembered that not only were they in the usual style of the rough-handed barons of that age, but that the Primate himself had just given examples of precisely similar violence in cases of disputed possession. William was a tenant of the King as well as of the Archbishop; and, when excommunicated by one of his feudal superiors, he appealed to the other. On this Henry ordered Becket to recall his excommunication, reminding him that, according to a principle established by William the Conqueror,[a] the tenants-in-chief of the Crown ought not to be excommunicated without the Sovereign's leave.[b] The Archbishop for a time stood on his rights, declaring that the King had nothing to do with such spiritual matters as excommunication or absolution; and although at length, on finding that the King was very angry, he agreed to do as was required, the concession was so ungracious that Henry exclaimed, "Now I owe him no thanks for it."[c]

In another case the Primate appeared as a sort of Hampden. The King, in a council at Woodstock, proposed to add to his revenue certain moneys which had been customarily paid to the sheriffs throughout England

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that they were patrons of the churches on the estates of their monks, as well as of their barons; but in the case of churches founded by the monks this was an usurpation of Theobald; and although Becket, in accordance with his usual policy, retained it, his successor, Richard, was obliged to give it up. See Gervase, 1067, 1675.

[a] Eadmer, Hist. Novorum, c. 1. (Patrol., clix. 352.)

[b] Lest, it was said, the King should, unawares, communicate with excommunicate persons. Diceto, 536. See Fuller, i. 269.

[c] Fitzst., 209.

—a sum of two shillings on every hide of land—and Becket stood forward to resist the proposal.[a] The money, he said, was not paid as a due, but voluntarily; it might be refused if the sheriffs and their officers should behave improperly, or should fail to perform their duty in the defence and police of the country, and therefore must not be reckoned as part of the royal revenue. "By God's eyes," said Henry, furiously, "it shall be paid as revenue, and registered in the King's books!" "By those same eyes," answered Becket, "so long as I live no such payment shall be made from all my lands, and not a penny of the Church's right!" By this opposition the project was defeated; and so, says Grim, the King was led, out of resentment on account of the Archbishop's behaviour, to turn his anger against the clergy.[b]

He was not long without a very fair pretext for interfering with them. A number of outrages had lately been perpetrated by members of the clerical body. It was said that more than a hundred murders had been committed by clerks since the beginning of Henry's reign;[c] and, without insisting on the exact statistical accuracy of this statement (which Dr. Lingard[d] thinks it worth while to assail), we have abundant evidence that the "disorderly manners of men in orders"[e]—"murderers, thieves, robbers, assassins, and practisers of other atrocities"—had become a crying nuisance. The ecclesiastical tribunals claimed exclusive jurisdiction over the

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[a] See Appendix IX.
[b] Grim, 21-2; Roger, 113-4; Garnier, 65*; W. Cant., 6.
[c] Will. Neubrig., ii. 16, p. 130.
[d] ii. 127.
[e] Grim, 34.

clergy in cases of every kind; and thus these "tonsured[a] demons, workmen of the devil, clerks in name only, but belonging to Satan's portion," were exempted from the judgment of the secular courts. The exemption extended to the minor orders, and hence there had grown up a prodigious multitude of "acephalous"[b] clerks, without title, duty, or settled abode, who led a roving, disreputable life, and were ready for any violence.

The question of the clerical immunities had come before Henry immediately after his accession to the Crown. Osbert, Archdeacon of York, had been charged with having administered poison in the eucharistic cup to his Archbishop, William; and King Stephen, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of Archbishop Theobald and his brethren, had insisted that a charge of such atrocity should be investigated in the secular court. Before a trial could take place, however, Stephen was succeeded by Henry, whereupon the prelates took advantage of the newness of the young King's power to wrest the cause out of his hands and assert the right of the Church to judge it. The indignation of the King and his nobles is described by Theobald himself as excessive; nor was the sequel of the affair likely to mitigate it. The accuser was unable to establish the charge—rather, it would seem, in consequence of the technical difficulties interposed by the ecclesiastical law than of any substantial defect in his case—and the Bishops

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[a] "Coronatorum," Herb. in Quadril., 33. Dr. Giles reads "caracterizatorum" [*Qy.* "cautelizatorum?"] (Herb., 102.)

[b] Literally *headless*,—so called as being subject to no superior.

decided that the accused should submit to canonical purgation; whereupon he declared that he preferred to clear himself "in the face of the Roman Church" rather than in England.[a] Such an affair, in which an ecclesiastic accused of a very serious crime was not only able to withdraw from secular justice, but escaped conviction in the spiritual court through the peculiarities of the canon law as to evidence, and eventually removed his case to the judgment of a foreign potentate, must have strongly impressed on Henry's mind the inconvenience of the ecclesiastical immunities; and the impression had been deepened by the experience of ten years. He wished to put an end to the disgraceful state of things which had arisen, by subjecting clerical offenders against the public peace to the same jurisdiction with other criminals, and, with a view to this, he now required that clerks accused of any outrage[b] should be tried in his own courts; that, on conviction or confession, they should be degraded by the Church, and that they should then be remanded to the secular officers for the execution of the sentence which had been passed on them.[c] On the other hand the Archbishop, although unsupported by his

[a] Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 122 (written in the name of Theobald to the Pope). "Rex Henricus successit, de cujus manibus, vix cum summa difficultate, in manu valida, et cum indignatione regis et omnium procerum, jam dictam causam ad examen ecclesiasticum revocavimus . . . . cum actor, secundum subtilitatem legum et canonum, accusationem non posset implere." In another letter (108) Theobald writes to the Pope:—"Osbertus Eboracensis archidiaconus in purgatione defecit. Quisquis vobis suggesserit aliter, non credatis."

[b] "In latrocinio, vel murdra, vel felonia, vel iniqua combustione, vel in his similibus." R. Hoveden, 282.

[c] Fitzst., 209; Anon. Lamb., 88; Diceto, 537.

brethren in general, who dreaded the risk of a breach with the State while the Church was divided by a schism,[a] considered himself bound to offer the most strenuous resistance to a proposal which tended to lessen the privileges of the hierarchy; and on this quarrel the whole of the subsequent history turned.

On the one side it was argued that the ecclesiastical discipline had been proved altogether insufficient to check the excesses of the clergy; that there was no warrant in the Mosaic law for exempting them from the punishments to which other men were liable; that the penalties of the spiritual courts were not fitted to deter persons inclined to offences of the kind in question. "Those," it was said, "would care little for a loss of orders" [the heaviest of all the spiritual sentences] "whom a regard for their orders could not restrain from the commission of such enormities. In proportion to their superior dignity and privileges, their criminality was greater than that of other men, and their punishment ought rather to be heavier than lighter. It would be a strange novelty in law, and a very new fashion of sanctity, if the privileges of the clergy should thus be made a screen for villanies by which the peace of kingdoms is disturbed, the justice of kings outraged, and all that is holy profaned."[b]

The arguments on the other side were of various

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[a] Fitzst., 210. William of Canterbury speaks of them as forgetting that they "were set over nations and kingdoms, to pluck up the plantation of vices" (6); a strange representation of their declining to shelter criminals from justice!

[b] Herbert, 103-4, 109.

kinds. No one, it was said, ought to be twice punished for the same offence,—as clerks would be, if, in addition to degradation, they had to undergo the doom of the secular court. Clerks degraded for one offence would afterwards be in the condition of laymen, and liable to the usual punishments of laymen for future misdemeanors [so that they had only one life more than other men]: but degradation was the utmost that could be allowed for one crime, and by a clerk degradation must be felt as the heaviest of all punishments[a]—an assertion which had of late been abundantly disproved by experience.

There were many references to Scripture, some of them strangely unfortunate. Thus the plea against visiting an offence with bodily as well as spiritual penalties was supported by the supposed authority of the prophet Nahum.[b] The arguments of this kind which seem most likely to have been effective were some which rested on a restriction to the clergy of words which would, in truth, have been equally applicable to all Christians—as where it was said that it would be shocking to touch the life or limbs of those for whom

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[a] Grim, 36; Fitzst., 210; Will. Cant., 12; Garnier, 27; Herb., vii. 106, &c.

[b] "Dicit enim Naum propheta, Non judicabit Deus bis in idipsum." There are no such words in Nahum, but they may perhaps be a reminiscence of i. 9, "Non consurget duplex tribulatio," or of i. 12, "Afflixi te, et non affligam te ultra." In Job xxxiii. 14, we have "Semel loquitur Deus, et secundo idipsum non repetit." But I have not been able to find the words in question, although St. Bernard also seems to refer to them as Scripture—"Deus judicari bis in idipsum, quod ipse non facit, patiatur." Ep. cxxvi. 12.

Christ had died.[a] In a like spirit, Becket insisted on the profanity of binding behind the back hands which had consecrated the Saviour's body[b]—an argument which, at best, would not have been available for any order below the priesthood, while it overlooked the circumstance that the hands in question had not been exclusively devoted to sacramental acts, but had been the instruments of such crimes as robbery or murder.

The main strength of the cause was probably supposed to lie in the department of ecclesiastical law—a department more beyond the cognizance of ordinary persons than either reason or Scripture. We are told, however, that, even in that age, the King's demands were warranted by the advice of learned canonists and jurists;[c] and *we* know (whether the uncritical twelfth century knew it or not) that the authorities on which the Archbishop relied were in reality altogether futile. "Gratian," says Fleury (and we must remember that Becket had probably been a hearer of Gratian at Bologna), "inserted in his 'Decretum' novel maxims concerning the immunities of the clergy. In proof of this he cites several articles from the False Decretals,[d] and the pretended law of Theodosius,[e] adopted by

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[a] Grim, 34.

[b] Herb., vii. 105.

[c] "Quorundam fretus consilio utriusque juris se habere peritiam ostentantium." Fb., 103.

[d] It may be well to explain to some readers that these 'Decretals' were a great forgery, executed towards the middle of the ninth century, by which pretended letters of the early bishops of Rome were made to countenance the advanced pretensions of the hierarchy.

[e] Rather read *Constantine*; for the only connexion of the law with Theodosius is the circumstance of its appearance in the

Charlemagne,[a] "in order to extend excessively the jurisdiction of the bishops. With these he combines a mutilated article from a novel of Justinian, which, as a whole, says the very contrary.[b] This constitution, however, thus altered, was St. Thomas of Canterbury's chief ground for resisting the King of England with the firmness which drew on him persecution and martyrdom."[c]

Nothing, as appears to us, can be plainer than that the Archbishop's cause was decidedly wrong.[d] "My Lord," he is represented as having told Henry, "the Holy Church, who is the mother both of kings and of priests, hath two kings, two laws, two jurisdictions, and two controlling powers;"[e] but his view as to the rights and functions of the two respectively shows a great encroachment of the spiritual on the secular. The true distinction would seem to be that the Church takes

Theodosian Code (t. vi. p. 303, ed. Lugdun. 1665). In this law Constantine, the Great is represented as enacting that one party in a suit might, without the consent of the other, carry it before the Bishop at any stage of the proceedings. The law is generally regarded as spurious; yet it has lately found defenders in Haenel and Walter (Kirchenr., 382).

[a] See Fleury, xlvi. 8. This is in the *spurious* Capitularies of Benedict, lib. iii. 366 (Patrol. xcvii. 787). See Gieseler, II. i. 79-80; Hallam, Middle Ages, ed. 8, vol. i. 508, and Supplem. Notes, 183.

[b] See Appendix X.

[c] 'Discours,' at the end of Hist. Eccl., 4to. lxiv. (t. v. 5, ed. Paris, 1844); cf. liv. lxxi. 6.

[d] William of Newburgh plainly says (that such was his opinion (ii. 16, pp. 150-3); nay, even Roger of Pontigny (129) and Herbert of Bosham seem to have thought so, notwithstanding their devotion to Becket. Herbert does full justice to the King's motives. "Nothing can be more certain than that each had a zeal of God, the one for the people, the other for the clergy; but which zeal was according to knowledge, it is not for fallible man, but for the God of knowledge, to judge" (109).

[e] Herb., 104.

cognizance of misdeeds in their character of offences against God, while the State deals with them as offences against society. And the penalties inflicted by the two judicatures are properly different in their nature and in their object: the secular sentence exacting the forfeit which is due to society, while the spiritual sentence does not indeed pretend to clear the sinner's account with God, but aims at disposing him to seek the Divine forgiveness by hearty inward penitence.[a] In cases where secular law could not reach, or did not care to prosecute, an offence, the ecclesiastical judgment might be enough; but, where secular law put in a claim, the Church had no right to bar this claim, inasmuch as the offence, under different aspects, was liable to both laws. In the times with which we are concerned, the spiritual courts had taken it on themselves to inflict such penalties as imprisonment in a monastery, banishment under the name of pilgrimage, and forfeiture of money or other property;[b] and when it was objected that these punishments were not ecclesiastical but civil, Becket replied that the Church represented Him to whom the earth and the fulness thereof belong—that there can be no limits to the punishments of that King whose power is infinite.[b] But it seems evident that such pretensions could not safely be admitted; that bishops could have no power to fine, banish, or imprison, except by the concession of the State; and that, although the

[a] The Bishops gained largely by pecuniary commutations for other punishments. See Ep. 346, p. 186.

[b] Herb. 106-7.

State might allow them to administer such penalties, and might for a time be content to leave the clergy wholly in the hands of ecclesiastical judges, it was entitled to resume its control over them whenever such a change might seem expedient. Indeed, no other answer is needed to the claims set up by Becket for the exemption of the clergy from secular courts than such as is furnished by a letter of his immediate successor, written at a time when the clergy had begun to feel that their immunities were attended by considerable inconveniences. For the Church's claim to exclusive jurisdiction over all cases which concerned the clergy, had not only the effect of withdrawing clerical robbers and murderers from the secular tribunals, but also the robbers and murderers of the clergy, so that (as was most signally instanced in Becket's own case) the murderer of an ecclesiastic was subject to no other than ecclesiastical punishments; and the effect of this came to be so seriously felt that Archbishop Richard endeavoured to procure an alteration in the law. He argues that misdeeds ought to be punished in any case. "I should be content," he says, "with the sentence of excommunication, if it had the effect of striking terror into evil-doers; but, through our sins, it has become ineffective and despised. The slayers of a clerk or of a bishop are sent to Rome by way of penance: they enjoy themselves by the way, and return with the Pope's full grace, and with increased boldness for the commission of crime. The King claims the right of punishing such offences; but we of the clergy damnably reserve it to ourselves, and we deserve the consequences of our

ambition in usurping a jurisdiction with which we have no rightful concern. Scripture and the decrees of the Church agree that certain enormities ought rather to be punished by the judges of this world than by those of the Church. If the judgment of the Church be insufficient, let the secular sword supply its shortcomings. There are two swords which beg each other's aid and mutually help each other; and if one of them supply the other's deficiency, this is not to be regarded as a double contrition or punishment. It is the public interest that those should be restrained by the material sword who neither fear God, nor defer to the Church, nor dread the censure of the canons."[a] The Archbishop's argument was intended to protect the clergy from violence, but it is evident that it is equally applicable to the protection of the laity against the violence of clergymen.[b]

As to the question of Scripture and primitive usage, it is manifest that the directions to admonish an offending brother, to "hear the Church," to settle differences "before the saints, and not before unbelievers," were

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[a] Trivet, 83-5; or Pet. Bles., Ep. 73. Giraldus abuses Richard for having lowered the Church (Ang. Sac., ii. 523). Cf. Pet. Bles., Ep. 5.

[b] A letter of Eugenius III., on a decree passed by a German diet in 1152, that plunderers of ecclesiastical property should not be excommunicated unless they were first convicted by a lay judgment, contrasts remarkably with the tone of Becket and his friends. Nothing is said as to the iniquity of a double judgment; but the Pope declares that, if the decree stand, there will be an end of all discipline; with discipline, of religion; and with religion, of salvation. (Ep. 524, Patrol., clxxx.) Yet the secular courts did not attempt in this case, as the ecclesiastical courts in England did, to arrogate to themselves *all* jurisdiction and power to punish.

intended for all Christians, and not for the clergy alone; that the last of them was given with reference to the peculiar circumstances of a period when the public tribunals were heathen, and that such directions have nothing to do with the nature or the amount of punishment for such crimes as robbery and murder. It was, therefore, a strange abuse to found on these texts a claim of comparative impunity for clerks who should be guilty of outrages against person or property.

The questions of ecclesiastical law in general, of Roman civil law, and of earlier English law, may be considered as decided against the immunities.[a] In Saxon times both clergy and laity had been subject to mixed tribunals—the archdeacon sitting with the secular judge in the court of the hundred, and the bishop with the earl in the county-court.[b] This arrangement had, indeed, been abolished by William the Conqueror, who ordered that the jurisdictions should be separated.[c] But it would seem that, notwithstanding the new law, the separation

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[a] See Appendix X. The first council of Mâcon, A.D. 581, declared the clergy exempt from secular judgment, "absque causa criminali, id est, homicidio, furto, aut maleficio" (Can. 7, ap. Hardouin, iii. 452); and such was generally the limitation of their exemptions. See Collier, i. 372, *seqq.*; Inett, ii. 246; Twysden, Histor. Vindication, 43, ed. Corrie; Planck, 'Gesch. der Christlichen Gesellschaftsverfassung,' i. 172; Martineau, 330, *seqq.*; and for the Anglo-Saxon laws, Kemble, 'Saxons in England,' ii. 437. Löbell ('Gregor. v. Tours,' 325-8) traces the growth of exemptions among the Franks. Charlemagne exempted the clergy from secular judgment; but this exemption was not such as Becket contended for, inasmuch as it was a gift bestowed and revocable by the secular power, and the Emperor was supreme judge of clergy as well as of laity. See Gieseler, II. i. 77.

[b] Phillips, ii. 68.

[c] Wilkins, i. 368. See Appendix XI.

of the courts was not generally carried out before the latter part of Henry the First's reign.[a] And in whatever degree the law of William may have contributed towards that exemption from secular judgment which the clergy had at length all but completely[b] established for themselves during the troubled reign of Stephen, Becket is never found to have appealed to it. If, indeed, he had relied on the Conqueror's law, he might have been told in answer that experience had abundantly proved the necessity of its repeal. But he would have scorned such a foundation for his pretensions: he claimed the immunities as an inherent right of the clergy.[c]

The defences which have lately been set up for the Archbishop's conduct in this matter vary according to the views and position of their ingenious authors, who might, perhaps, be safely left to refute each other. By some writers the nature of the claim to immunity for the clergy is veiled as far as possible by descanting on other matters in which the State might have been disposed to encroach on the Church. Thus Dr. Lingard endeavours to confine our view to the probability that the lay and the spiritual courts were interested in drawing cases away from each other, for the sake of benefiting by fees.[d]

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[a] See Inett, ii. 251-2; Southey, Vind., 354; comp. Blackstone, iii. 71, with Lingard, ii. 123. "Of clerical exemption from the secular arm," says Mr. Hallam, "we find no earlier notice than in the coronation oath of Stephen, which, though vaguely expressed, may be construed to include it." ("Ecclesiasticarum personarum et omnium clericorum, et rerum eorum, justitiam et potestatem .... in manu episcoporum esse perhibeo et confirmo.") Middle Ages, ii. 21. Comp. Martineau, 321.

[b] The qualification is introduced here on account of the case of Osbert (above, p. 75).

[c] Southey, Vindiciæ, 355.

[d] ii. 126.

Another very able member of the Roman communion tells us that the immunities of the clergy were right in ages when the temporal courts had recourse to wager of battle and other ordeals; but that, since these trials have been disused, and since other changes have taken place in civil society, they have rightly been everywhere abolished[a]—an argument in which it is forgotten that Becket claimed the immunities as an absolute right, independent of all social considerations. A highly-respected writer of our own Church insists on the severity of ecclesiastical punishments—for example, that some clerks were sentenced by the spiritual courts to deprivation of all their dignities, and confinement in a monastery for life under a rigid system of penance.[b] But it is clear that this is far from meeting the case. The ecclesiastical discipline would seem to have been much neglected, and, at all events, it was found insufficient to restrain from frequent crime. Whatever it may have been, it is certain that it was looked on, both by clergy and by laity, as less severe than the secular punishments; and it is certain that it was grievously ineffective.

We need hardly advert to the fallacy of M. Michelet, who tells us that "the ecclesiastical jurisdiction was in those days an anchor of safety;" that "the Church was almost the only way by which the despised races of the vanquished could recover any degree of ascendency;" that "the liberties of the Church were then the liberties of the world:"[c] or to that of Dr. Giles, who endeavours to recommend his hero by representing him as a kindred

[a] Walter, Kirchenr., 399. [b] Churton, 345. [c] iii. 162.

spirit to our modern philanthropists and mitigators of the criminal code.[a] Great as were the blessings which the Church in the middle ages conferred on mankind by acting as a check on the tyranny of the strong, there was no attempt in the case before us to exercise any such function. It was not for the protection or for the elevation of the oppressed Saxons that Becket laboured; it was not to mitigate the barbarous punishments which in that age were usual, and perhaps necessary: it was to establish for his own class a superiority over all other men. Mr. Froude, indeed, is right in denying the truth of the opinion which he ascribes to "Protestant historians," that "the Archbishop could have been influenced by no motive but a wish to secure impunity to offending clergymen;"[b] but the real charge against Becket is something different from this,—namely, that he set up and obstinately maintained, as a right of the Church, a claim which was without any real foundation, and which, in its working, had been proved to be seriously hurtful, not only to social order, but to the character of the clergy themselves.

There was no pretence that the secular courts—themselves in a great measure composed of ecclesiastics—were likely to deal unfairly with clerks who might be accused before them. There was no attempt on their part to meddle with matters which were properly of spiritual cognizance. Nor was this one of the cases in which it is necessary to distinguish between the worthlessness of a party and the justice of a principle

[a] Life and Letters of Becket, i. 186-7. [b] P. 17.

involved in his cause. None but persons duly convicted of crime were in danger from Henry's intended reforms. The question was simply whether clerks should enjoy a comparative impunity for offences against the public peace; and as long as Henry could have any ground for saying that the clergy were especially favoured—that the ecclesiastical discipline failed to restrain them from crime—so long was there a just reason for complaint on the part of the secular power and of the people.[a]

[a] Johnson points out that so long as the laity were allowed to compound for murder by paying a wehrgeld (or pecuniary compensation), they had no reason to complain of the ecclesiastical treatment of criminal clerks as too lenient; but that a change had been made by the introduction of capital punishment for lay murderers, which he refers to the reign of Henry I. Canons, ii. 56.

CHAPTER VI.

COUNCILS AT WESTMINSTER AND CLARENDON.—Oct. 1163—Oct. 1164.

The King summoned the bishops and abbots of the realm to meet him at Westminster in October, 1163, and laid before them his views as to the necessity of reform. Among the subjects of his complaint were the proceedings of archdeacons and rural deans, whom he accused of extorting a revenue greater than his own by oppressive exactions from the clergy and vexatious suits against the laity.[a] But he insisted chiefly on the immunities of the clergy, which he denounced as hindering the execution of his coronation oath to do justice and to correct offenders;[b] and he desired the concurrence of the assembled dignitaries in the measures which he proposed for the remedy of the prevailing evils, so that

[a] Anon. Lamb., 88; Fitzst., 213. The complaints against the Archdeacons are countenanced by a letter of John of Salisbury to Nicolas de Sigillo: "Erat, ut memini, genus hominum qui in ecclesia Dei archidiaconorum censentur nomine, quibus vestra discretio omnem salutis viam querebatur esse præclusam. Nam, ut dicere consuevistis, diligunt munera, sequuntur retributiones, ad injurias prout sunt, calumniis gaudent, peccata populi comedunt et bibunt, quibus vivitur ex rapto, ut non sit hospes ab hospite tutus. Qui in eis præstantissimi sunt, debent utique servare legem Domini, sed non faciunt" (Ep. 166). John goes on to congratulate Nicolas on having had his eyes opened to the merits and the salvability of Archdeacons by his own promotion to that venerable class (as Archdeacon of Huntingdon; see Foss, i. 305).

[b] Grim, 35.

things might be restored to the condition in which he represented them as having stood during the reign of his grandfather Henry I.[a] The clergy withdrew for consultation, and the question was discussed with arguments such as have been reported in the preceding chapter. The bishops—"not pillars of the Church, but reeds," as one writer calls them[b]—were inclined to temporise and to yield; but the primate, by forcibly representing the case as one of duty to the Church and of faithfulness to their trust, succeeded in animating them with something of his own spirit, and, on returning to the King's presence, they declared that they could not give an unqualified assent to his demands. Henry, provoked by their appearance of unanimity,[c] asked them one by one whether they would obey the customs of his ancestors; the Archbishop replied that they would, "saving their order," and the bishops severally made the same declaration, with the single exception of Hilary of Chichester, who, alarmed by the King's evident anger, thought to escape the difficulty by substituting the words *bona fide* for *salvo ordine*. This change, however, instead of appeasing Henry added to his exasperation.[d] He burst out into violent abuse of Hilary, and furiously told the ecclesiastics that they were banded in a conspiracy against him, that there

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[a] Garnier, 27; Roger, 116.

[b] S. T. C., ii. 254.

[c] Herb., 109.

[d] The violence of Henry's rage is often mentioned. Peter of Blois, in his interesting character of him, says, "Oculi ejus orbiculati sunt—dum pacati est animi, columbini et simplices; sed in ira et turbatione cordis quasi scintillantes ignem, et in impetu fulminantes." Ep. 66, Patrol., ccvii. 197.

was poison in their words. "By God's eyes!" he swore, "you shall not say anything of saving your order, but shall agree outright and expressly to my constitutions."[a] It was in vain that the Archbishop reminded him that the reservation was always made in the episcopal oath of fealty;[b] the King abruptly quitted the meeting without the usual parting salutation to the bishops, leaving them in extreme terror as to the consequences which might follow from their resistance to his will. The Bishop of Chichester suffered from both sides for his unlucky attempt at conciliation, for, as the bishops were retiring to their lodgings, the primate severely rebuked him for the concession which he had ventured to make without the authority of his brethren. On the following morning Henry sent to demand of Becket the surrender of Eye and Berkhampstead, and left London without again seeing the clergy.[c]

He soon after summoned the Archbishop to wait on him at Northampton, and an interview took place between them outside the walls, as Henry professed to consider that the town was not large enough to hold the numerous trains of followers by which each of them was attended. The King reproached Becket with ingratitude for the favours which he had shown him. "Were

[a] Roger, 117; Herb., 109-110; Summa Causæ, S. T. C., ii. 255.

[b] Thom., Ep. iii. 36; Herb. 110. To this it might have been answered that the reservation was now interpreted as implying the immunities, which Henry had not before supposed to be included under it.

[c] Herb., 111. Carte remarks severely on the inconsistency of the Archbishop's retaining the military charges with his professions on resigning the civil office of Chancellor, i. 583.

you not," he asked, "the son of one of my villeins?" "Of a truth," was the answer, "I am not sprung from royal ancestors,[a] as neither was blessed Peter, the prince of the Apostles, to whom the Lord deigned to give the keys of the kingdom of heaven and the principality of the whole Church." "True," said the King; "but *he* died for his Lord." "And I, too," answered Becket, "will die for my Lord, when the time shall come." "You lean too much on the ladder which you have mounted."[b] "I trust in and lean on the Lord; for cursed is the man that putteth his hope in man." The conversation was long; but, as the Archbishop refused to give up the reservation on which he had before insisted, they parted without coming to any agreement.[c]

The prelates, in general, were greatly alarmed, and dreaded a breach with the King. Intrigue, too, was busy among them. Arnulf, Bishop of Lisieux, a man highly regarded for his ability, eloquence, and learning, but crafty,[d] scheming, and utterly dishonest, came over from Normandy about this time, and, by way of ingratiating himself with Henry, under whose displeasure he had for some time been suffering, suggested that the King should form a party among the clergy, as the most effectual means of thwarting the primate.[e] Roger of York, the ancient enemy of Becket, Hilary of Chi-

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[a] "Atavis editus regibus." (Horat. Od. i. 1.) He quotes the same words in a letter to the Bishops, S. T. C., iii. 178.

[b] "Tu nimis affigeris et inniteris scansilibus tuis."

[c] Roger, 118-9.

[d] Rob. de Monte, A.D. 1141.

[e] Grim, 25; Roger, 119; Garnier, 68*; W. Cant., 6. See Appendix XII.

chester, and Foliot, who had lately been translated to London, readily lent themselves to this scheme. Robert of Melun, the successor of Foliot in Hereford, and Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, joined the party,[a] while other prelates were by no means disposed to follow the Archbishop in all his courses.[b] A secret agreement was made, we do not know with how many bishops, by which they gave up the obnoxious reservation. "Thus," says Fitzstephen, "those who had the highest reputation for learning became the most ready to crush the liberty of the Church;"[c] and Grim imputes to these prelates the blame of Henry's subsequent acts; for how (he asks) should the King suspect himself to be in the wrong, when all but the Archbishop were with him?[d]

The King's influence among the clergy soon manifested itself in various pretensions which were set up in opposition to the primate. The Archbishop of York

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[a] R. Hoveden, 282, b.

[b] M. Thierry says that Henry gained the *Norman* bishops by various arguments, "et peut-être par des insinuations des desseins présumés de *l'Anglais* Becket contre tous les grands d'Angleterre, enfin, par plusieurs raisons que les historiens ne détaillent pas" (iii. 116). The omissions of the old historians are extremely convenient for imaginative moderns. As to one of the bishops, "dont les noms, purement Français, indiquent assez leur origine," M. Thierry was not aware that he was really an Englishman, and derived his surname from having long taught with great renown at Melun. John of Salisbury tells us that he himself had studied under "Magistro Roberto Meludensi; ut nomine designetur quod meruit in scholarum regimine (natione siquidem Angligena est)." Metalog. ii. 10, where a character of him as a teacher is given (Cf. iv. 24). After the quarrel with Becket, John sneers at Robert, as if his reputation were above his merits (Epp. 175, 183), and proposes a plan for winning him over by means of his vanity (Ep. 183).

[c] 213. [d] 37.

renewed some claims which his predecessors since the Conquest had asserted for their see as equal in dignity to Canterbury.[a] Clarembald, a Norman, who had been thrust by the King on the monks of St. Augustine's at Canterbury as abbot, maintained, as some earlier abbots had done, that his community was exempt from the archiepiscopal jurisdiction, and required that the primate should give him the pastoral benediction in his own monastery without exacting any profession of obedience.[b] And Foliot, who on his translation had evaded a renewal of his profession to the metropolitan see,[c] now claimed independence of Canterbury, on the ground of the ancient ecclesiastical eminence of London, which he is said to have deduced from the days when it was the seat of an archflamen of Jupiter![d] Whatever we

[a] These claims were founded on the letter by which Gregory the Great had directed that Augustine, the apostle of the Anglo-Saxons, should found archiepiscopal sees at London and York, each with twelve suffragans under it (Beda, i. 29); but this scheme, arranged in ignorance of the changes which had taken place in England since the withdrawal of the Romans, was never carried out. Augustine established himself in the capital of Kent, where he had been first received, as London was in another kingdom. York, after having had one archbishop, who was driven from it, did not recover its metropolitical dignity for more than a century (Godwin, 656); and the number of suffragans was always far greater in the southern province. The claims of York had been asserted by Thomas I. against Lanfranc, and had been revived by Gerard, Thomas II., and Thurstan, but without success. For the York side of the question, see Stubbs, in Twysden.

[b] Diceto, 534. See Append. XIII.

[c] Becket at Tours had urged the Pope to make him renew it, and had been told that this was needless; but Foliot took advantage of the omission. See S. T. C., iv. 20, 247-8, 255.

[d] S. T. C., iv. 236; Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 289. This claim (which John treats with much humour) was probably grounded on the False Decretals, where St. Peter is represented as charging Clement, bishop of

may think of these several pretensions, there can be little doubt that they were precisely such as Becket would have been likely to raise, and to maintain with his characteristic tenacity, if his position towards his opponents had been reversed.

Assiduous attempts were made by bishops, nobles, and others, to win over the Archbishop to compliance with the royal wishes. The danger of the Church—the character of Henry—Becket's old friendship with him, and the hope which he might have of recovering all his former influence with increase, if these quarrels could be laid to rest—such considerations were continually pressed on him. It was urged, too, that although the King was desirous, for the sake of his own honour, that the bishops should withdraw their reservation, he had no intention to take advantage of this to the prejudice of their obligations or of the Church's rights.[a] But against all such importunities the Archbishop stood inflexibly firm, until he was waited on by Philip, Abbot of l'Aumône,[b] an envoy from the Pope, with the Count of Vendôme, and the Bishop of Hereford. These personages earnestly solicited him to comply, the abbot professing that for this course he had the authority of the Pope and the cardinals;

Rome, to establish primates, patriarchs, and archbishops in places where there had been arch-flamens (Hardouin, i. 46). The passage was adopted into Gratian's Decretum, Dist. lxxx. c. 2. An earlier bishop of London, Richard, had set up pretensions to the pall, which was the symbol of metropolitan dignity, but had been defeated by the opposition of St. Anselm. See Anselm. Ep. iii. 152.

[a] Grim, 26; Herb., 111; Arnulf., 150-1; Garnier, 68*.

[b] See Appendix XIV.

and at length he yielded to their entreaties.[a] Grim seems to throw doubt on the truth of the envoy's assertion.[b] The fact may have been, as Lord Lyttelton suggests,[c] that the Pope had in general terms directed Philip to recommend conciliatory measures, but without intending that conciliation should be carried so far. The Archbishop, however, was persuaded, and, in an interview at Oxford or Woodstock,[d] intimated his submission to the King, who thereupon declared that, since the refusal to accept the customs had been public, the assent to them must be equally so. As Becket's compliance had been obtained by the assurance that the King had no thought of pressing the matter beyond a mere formal submission—nay, that he had sworn this to certain cardinals—the demand that his acknowledgment should be publicly made took him wholly by surprise.[e]

In January, 1164, the prelates and temporal nobles met at the royal palace of Clarendon, near Salisbury, under the presidency of John of Oxford, an ecclesiastic who enjoyed Henry's confidence, and was much employed by him in political business.[f] It would appear that the business of the council lasted three days;[g] but, amid contradictory reports, it is impossible to ascertain in what order it was transacted. The Archbishop, on

[a] Garnier, 69*; Gervase, 1385; W. Cant., 7.

[b] 26-7.

[c] ii. 353. See Pauli, 39; Milman, 463; Buss, 247.

[d] Woodstock, according to Garnier (69*), and Roger (123); Oxford, according to Herbert, 113.

[e] Grim, 27; Roger, 121; Gervase, 1385.

[f] Herb., 114; Wendover, ii. 298. The day is variously given. See Pauli, 40.

[g] Foliot, iii. 171.

being asked to assent to the observance of the "ancient customs" or "royal dignities," declared that he did not know what was required under these terms; whereupon the King ordered that the customs should be reduced to writing, in order (as Grim represents him to have said) that no one might in after time presume to charge him with the introduction of novelties.[a] Another biographer tells us that Henry himself knew no more of the ancient usages than the Archbishop, and that matter adverse to the Church was inserted by his ill-disposed advisers, among whom the Archbishop afterwards named the grand justiciary de Luci and Joscelin de Bailleul as the chief authors of these "heretical pravities."[b] In how far the laws, which were now for the first time written, had been in force, as was alleged, on the ground of custom in the reign of Henry I.—in how far they were wholly new means of meeting new pretensions of the hierarchy and the papacy—it might be difficult to say; but it is certainly in favour of the character which they claimed, that Becket and his followers, although they lavish the strongest language of reprobation on them, are never found to venture on a distinct denial of that character in any point.[c]

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[a] i. 31.

[b] Herb., vii. 115-6; Thom. in S. T. C., iii. 12.

[c] Carte, i. 601; Pauli, 44. See, *e. g.*, Fitzstephen, 116, who, after saying, "Sed scriptæ nunquam prius fuerant, nec etiam omnino fuerant in regno Angliæ hæ consuetudines," runs out into a citation of such maxims as that our Lord did not say, "I am custom," but "I am the truth." This is from the speech of a bishop named Libosus, in one of the councils held by St. Cyprian (Patrol., iii. 1064). The learning which Fitzstephen displays on the occasion seems to have been borrowed from Gratian, Dist. viii. c. 4, sqq.

On the second day of the council were produced the sixteen articles which are known as the Constitutions of Clarendon. Both in their general spirit and in their details these articles bear very hardly on what the high hierarchical party regarded as the rights of the Church. Clergymen accused of any offence were to be subject to trial in the King's court, if the matter were one belonging to its cognizance; the King's justices were to have the right of sending an officer to watch the trial of such clerks by the spiritual court, and, if they confessed or were convicted, the Church was not to shelter them. (iii.)[a] No prelate or other ecclesiastic was to leave the realm without the Sovereign's license, and those who should receive this were to give security that in their absence they would attempt nothing against the King or kingdom. (iv.) This law was evidently a check on going to the Pope, either in consequence of a summons or in order to prosecute an appeal:[b] Foliot, however, afterwards attempted to explain it to Alexander as intended only to restrain the fondness which was often displayed for carrying even civil causes to the Pope for judgment, without previously ascertaining whether justice might not be obtained at home.[c] Appeals were to be carried from the archdeacon to the bishop, from the bishop to the archbishop; and, if the archbishop should fail to do justice, resort was to be had to the King, "that by his precept the controversy may be ended in the archbishop's court, so that it may not go further without the assent

[a] See Appendix X. as to Justinian. [b] Fitzst., i. 216.
[c] S. T. C., v. 239.

of our Lord the King." (viii.)[a] The King's tenants in chief and the members of his household were not to be excommunicated, nor were their lands to be interdicted, without his leave, or until after an inquiry in which the rights of the temporal as well as of the spiritual courts were regarded. (vii.)[b] The archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical dignitaries were to hold their possessions under the King as barons,[c] and were to perform all feudal duties except in judgments affecting life or limb. (xi.) The revenues of vacant sees and abbeys were to be at the King's disposal,[d] and the election to such dignities was brought more under his control than before. (xii.) Lastly, the sons of "rustics" or villains (M. Thierry's *Saxons*) were not to be ordained without the consent of the lords on whose lands they were born[e]—a rule clearly

[a] Robert of Gloucester's version of this is,—

"That the king amendi scholde the archebishopes dede,
And beo in the pope's stede."—(29.)

Gervase, a writer in Becket's interest, states that appeals to Rome had been "inusitate" until the time when Henry of Winchester was legate (1368).

[b] See note, p. 73; and Selden, n. in Eadmer, Patrol. clix. 558.

[c] William the Conqueror had substituted the tenure by barony for that of frank-almoign (or free alms). See Blackstone, ed. Kerr, i. 141; Griffiths, n. on Inett, ii. 323.

[d] Henry I. had renounced this on his reconciliation with Anselm (Eadmer, Hist. Nov., iv.; Patrol. clix. 463). For the extent to which Henry II. took advantage of it, see Lingard, ii. 131-2. Noël Alexandre seems to hold that the king was entitled to receive the income, but was bound to spend it on religious and charitable uses (xiii. 135).

[e] Gervase, 1386-8. See Planck, iv. 398-400; Lingard, ii. 131-4; Pauli, 42-3. Mapes complains that, while freemen disdained to get their sons instructed in the arts which were styled *liberal*, as being suitable for freemen, "*servi*, quos vocamus *rusticos*, suos ignominiosos et degeneres in artibus eis indebitis enutrire contendunt, non ut exeant a vitiis, sed ut abundant divitiis, qui quanto fiunt peritiores, tanto [perniciores] [peritiores?]" (De Nugis Curialium, p. 9). By ordination a villein gained at one step, not only emancipation, but the peculiar privileges of the clergy.

aimed against the Primate, whose cause was supported by the lower clergy in general.[a]

On these and the other items Becket remarked as they were read one by one. Of the constitution which aimed at subjecting the clergy to secular courts, he exclaimed that now Christ was to be judged anew before Pilate;[b] as to that which concerned the appointment of bishops, he declared with great vehemence that he could not, without the sanction of the Pope and of the universal Church, give up the principle of canonical election, and thereby place the insular Church of England in a condition of schism from the rest of Christendom.[c] The matter, he found, was worse than he had imagined when he promised to conform, and he resolved, notwithstanding his promise, to refuse compliance. The bishops were disposed to stand by him, and Henry was excited to an incontrollable tempest of rage. As the ecclesiastics were sitting in anxious deliberation, armed knights burst into the conclave, brandishing swords and axes, and threatening death to all who should persist in opposition to the royal will. The Bishops of Salisbury and Norwich,[d] who were at this time especially obnoxious to Henry, in terror implored the Primate to relent. The Earls of Cornwall and Leicester—one of them the King's uncle, the other joint-justiciary of England[e]—earnestly added their entreaties, saying that they apprehended some unheard-of violence. "It is nothing new or unheard-of," he answered,

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[a] Froude, 32; Pauli, 43.
[b] Herb., vii. 117.
[c] Ib. 120.
[d] Herbert names Henry of Winchester instead of William of Norwich, vii. 115. As to Joscelin, see below, p. 101, note [b].
[e] Foss, i. 191.

"if it should be our lot to die for the rights of the Church; for this a multitude of saints have taught us, both by word and by example: only may God's will be done!" Richard de Hastings, provincial of the Templars, and another eminent member of the same order, fell at his feet, embraced his knees, and, assuring him that the King was only desirous to avoid the appearance of defeat, promised on their salvation that, if he would but submit, he should hear no more of the customs.[a] At length the Archbishop was moved; he withdrew for a short time for consideration, and on returning said to his brethren, "It is the Lord's will that I should forswear myself; for the present I submit, and incur the guilt of perjury, to repent hereafter as I may."[b] In the hearing of all he promised, on his priestly word, to keep the laws "loyally and with good faith," and, at the King's desire, he charged the other prelates, on their canonical obedience, to do the like.[c] When, however, the King proceeded to require that he should set his seal to the constitutions, a fresh difficulty arose. By this act he would, according to the notions of the time, have bound himself more thoroughly than by his verbal promise; and the proposal

[a] Grim, 30-1; Roger, 125; Will. Cant., 6-7; Garnier, 70*-1; Gervase, 1386.

[b] Foliot, v. 271-2. Dr. Lingard attempts (ii. 131) to throw discredit on this statement, on account of the source from which it comes—the letter or pamphlet of Foliot, which has been noticed in Appendix VI. But even if that letter were a forgery, the accounts of the biographers bear it out in all essential points as to the occurrences at Clarendon, except that the letter names Joscelin of Salisbury as having stood firm with the other bishops, whom it accuses Becket of deserting.

[c] Grim, 30; Foliot, v. 273.

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was inconsistent with the repeated assurances which he had received from persons pretending to authority, that the King would be satisfied with the slightest nominal submission, if it were made in the presence of the barons.[a] It would seem that he refused—according to some, with an indignant exclamation of "Never, while there is breath in my body!"[b] while others represent him as having endeavoured to elude the demand by asking time for consideration.[c] On this, it is said, the courtiers bethought themselves of a plan for entrapping him by other means. The parchment on which the constitutions were written in triplicate was divided, and one part was given to the King, one to the Archbishop of York, and one to the Primate. The acceptance of this document would naturally have been construed as an act of approval, and such was the intention of the King's advisers; but some of the biographers tell us that Becket gave it the character of a protest, by declaring that he took the deed as "a voucher for the cause which he maintained," and

[a] Grim, 31; Garnier, 72*.

[b] Grim, 31; Roger, 127; Garnier, 72.

[c] Herb., vii. 125. Fitzstephen (i. 257) says that he sealed, and is followed by Dr. Pauli (45): on the other hand, see Reuter, i. 438. Mr. Morris says that the Archbishop promised to observe "the customs," but that he refused to set his seal to the constitutions, because this would have implied the further acknowledgment that the constitutions were really customs (103-7). That such a view—which really means that he did not pledge himself to anything at all—is inadmissible, is evident from John of Salisbury's words:—"Pollicitationem Clarendonæ, ad quam de consilio episcoporum compulsus est, purgare non possum, quia non fuit utique facienda; sed offensam confessio diluit," &c. (Ep. 225; cf. Ep. 193, col. 208 B.) Indeed, the idea is incompatible with the story of the cross-bearer, which Mr. Morris gives in the next page.

as an evidence of the measures against which he held himself bound to contend.[a]

The admirers of Becket do not pretend to justify his conduct on this occasion. It is compared by his contemporaries to the falls of David and St. Peter, and he himself was ashamed of it even at the time. "I know," he is reported to have said, "that what we have done must be condemned, if a good intent were not an excuse for a blameable act."[b] As he was proceeding with his train towards Winchester, after the council, he for a long time kept a melancholy silence, and at length, on being addressed by Herbert of Bosham, burst out into bitter lamentations, weeping profusely as he traced the calamities which had come on the Church to the intrusion, through the royal power, of a person so unworthy as himself—a courtier and a follower of worldly vanities—into the office of its chief pastor.[c]

It is natural that some of those who judge unfavourably of Becket should exult over the conduct which his friends have not the boldness to defend. Yet, perhaps, the extreme reprobation of it in which such writers indulge is somewhat exaggerated; for the Archbishop's behaviour at Clarendon was marked rather by weakness and vacillation than by deliberate perfidy. He yielded

[a] Grim, 31; Roger, 127; Will. Cant., 10; Herb. vii. 125; Garnier, 73; Gervase, 1388; Hoveden, 282 *b*.

[b] Grim, 31. Some of the bishops had thought to escape from the difficulties of the case by the ingenious evasion that they might profess to assent to the "*customs*," meaning thereby only such as were good, since the bad were not *customs*, but *abuses!* The Lambeth biographer has the honesty to reprobate *this* (91-2).

[c] Herb., vii. 126. See Appendix XV. Becket alters the name of Clarendon into *cleri damnum* (iii. 97).

to the earnest and urgent entreaties of others against his own judgment, and that for the sake of averting imminent danger from his friends rather than from himself. Nor can we fully agree in the measure of condemnation which Lord Lyttelton[a] bestows on his next proceedings, when he suspended himself from saying mass until he should receive the Pope's forgiveness for his late act, and yet joined with other prelates, by the King's desire, in requesting the papal sanction for the constitutions.[b] To this sanction his own approval was, of course, subject, and without it the constitutions would have been a nullity in the eyes of the hierarchical party. That the Archbishop should join in the application to the Pope seems, therefore, a necessary consequence of what he had before done, while his private suit for absolution was the result of his feeling that his assent had been wrong or questionable. The position into which he had brought himself was a most unhappy one, in which it was impossible altogether to avoid blame. We cannot much wonder at the course which he took, and we shall do well to lay the chief weight of our censure rather on some earlier parts of his conduct than on the inconsistency which was almost an inevitable result of them.

The period between the departure and the return of the envoys who were sent to request the Pope's forgiveness was spent by Becket in rigorous penitential exercises.[c] Their absence, however, was not long, as

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[a] ii. 364.
[b] Fitzst., 217; W. Cant., 10; Anon. Lamb., 97.
[c] Anon. Lamb., 96,

they found Alexander at Sens; and they returned with an indulgent answer, desiring the Archbishop to resume the offices of the altar, and to confess to some skilful spiritual guide whatever might weigh on his conscience.[a] About the same time Henry endeavoured to gain the Pope's approval for his constitutions through the new Archdeacon of Canterbury, Ridel, and John of Oxford, who has been already mentioned as president of the assembly at Clarendon. The Bishop of Lisieux, and Richard of Ilchester, Archdeacon of Poitiers, had been despatched on a similar mission before the Council of Clarendon, and we are told that they crossed the sea six times in the course of three months;[b] but neither they nor the other negotiators were able to obtain the ratification of the constitutions. Another object with the King was to procure for the Archbishop of York the authority of legate over all England. The Pope, at once unwilling to vex Becket by granting his rival a superiority over him and afraid to irritate Henry by an absolute refusal, attempted to compromise the matter by sending the King a legatine commission, with permission to deliver it to the Archbishop of York, if Becket's consent could be obtained, and under the condition that it should not be used to the prejudice of the see of Canterbury. This ingenious expedient, however, was utterly unsuccessful; for the King, instead of being gratified by the commission, felt himself insulted by the restrictions

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[a] Alex. in Thom. Ep. 201; Roger, 127; Herb., vii. 131.

[b] Diceto (536) says this of Arnulf and the archdeacon of Poitiers, but it is more probably to be understood of the successive envoys.

which rendered it useless for his purpose, and indignantly returned it to the Pope.[a]

In the mean time the Primate's enemies were not idle. Herbert of Bosham divides them into three species, which he compares respectively to gnats, bees, and scorpions; and to these he afterwards adds "fat bulls of Basan"—the hostile bishops,—with their "calves," or clerks.[b] The gnats and bees buzzed into the royal ears all manner of rumours unfavourable to Becket; and in consequence of these stories, apparently, Henry refused to see him when he presented himself at the gates of Woodstock Palace. The Archbishop then resolved to go to the Pope, in defiance of the King, and in violation of his own solemn promise to observe the Constitutions of Clarendon. He twice embarked from Romney; but the sailors, either in consequence of adverse winds, or from fear of punishment for aiding him to flee the country, put back to the port from which they had started; and on the second occasion his return to Canterbury by night was barely in time to save his effects from seizure by the King's officers, who had intended to take possession of them in the morning.[c]

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[a] Alex. in Thom. Epp. 198-9 (Feb. 1164); Grim, 33; Roger, 128; Will. Cant., 11; Garnier, 74*; Hoveden, 282, b.; Gervase, 1386. Most writers say that the legation was granted to the King for himself (and for this committal of ecclesiastical power to a lay Sovereign there were standing examples in Hungary and in Sicily—see Sylvest. II. in Patrol. cxxxvii. 276; Urban. II., ib. cli. 506); but the Pope's letters show that it was for the Archbishop of York.

[b] vii. 133, 140.

[c] Fitzst., 218; Roger, 130; Alan, 342; Garnier, 75-6*; Gervas., 1389.

He now again sought an interview with Henry at Woodstock, and was received with decorum, but with an evident lack of cordiality. The King, although greatly dissatisfied with his late attempt to break the law against leaving England, affected to treat it lightly by asking with a smile whether one kingdom were not large enough to hold both, and desiring the Archbishop to govern his province without further thought of going abroad. Becket proceeded to fulfil this injunction, but not, it may be presumed, in a manner likely to allay the royal irritation. "The son of the shaken-out," says Herbert, "shook himself out,[a] and with the prophet's mattock[b] plucked up, pulled down, scattered, and rooted out whatsoever he found planted amiss in the garden of the Lord. His hand rested not, his eye spared not; whatsoever was naughty, whatsoever rough, whatsoever crooked, he not only assailed with the prophet's mattock, but with the axe of the Gospel he cut it down. Of the royal and ecclesiastical customs, he observed such as were good; but those which had been brought in for the dishonour of the clergy he pruned away as bastard shoots, that they might not strike their roots deep."[c]

In such proceedings, and in vain attempts at mediation by Rotrou, Bishop of Evreux, who had been sent into England by the Pope with a view to the restoration

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[a] "Excussit se filius excussorum." See Appendix XVI.

[b] "Sarculo." Isaiah, vii. 25. The next words refer to Jerem. i. 10.

[c] vii. 132. The Pope had somewhat earlier referred with disapprobation to his restless movements. "Fraternitati tuæ præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus te in Cantuariensem ecclesiam recipias, et paucis quidem retentis admodum necessariis, ad minus quam poteris per terram illam discurras" (iv. 5). (Oct. 26, 1163.)

of peace,[a] the time passed until the beginning of October, 1164, when the Primate was summoned to answer before a council or parliament at Northampton for his behaviour to John the Marshal, an officer of the Royal Exchequer.[b]

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[a] Roger, 128; Hoveden, 252, b.

[b] Fitzst., 220. The Marshalsea of the Exchequer was a hereditary office, from which the family derived its name. John was father or elder brother of the more celebrated William Earl of Pembroke (Dugdale's Baronage, 599; Griffiths, n. on Inett, ii. 327), and was one of the nobles present at Clarendon.

CHAPTER VII.

NORTHAMPTON.—Oct. 1164.

The national assembly at Northampton was to be of the most solemn character. Citations were addressed to all bishops and abbots, to earls, barons, high officers of the realm, "and to all of every kind who were of any authority or name."[a] But with regard to the highest in dignity of all, a remarkable exception was made: the Archbishop of Canterbury did not receive the usual summons, as the King, from an unwillingness to use the customary greeting, had for some time ceased to write to him; but his attendance was peremptorily ordered by a precept addressed to the Sheriff of Kent.[b] As he approached the town, on Tuesday, the 6th of October, he was met by some of his servants, who had been sent on before, with the complaint that the lodgings intended for his train had been occupied by the King's people—an affront which was said to have been authorised by Henry himself. On receiving this report, the Archbishop at once halted, and sent a message to the King that he would go no farther unless the lodgings were given up. The King, who was engaged in hawking

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[a] Roger, 132; Garnier, 77*. [b] Fitzst., 219.

along the Nene, immediately ordered that his servants should make way for the Primate's household;[a] and it seems more likely that the intruders had presumed on his known feeling towards Becket than that he had in any way sanctioned their act. The Archbishop himself found hospitality in the Cluniac monastery of St. Andrew.[b]

On the following morning he proceeded to the castle, where he was detained for some time while the King was hearing mass. At their meeting, Henry did not offer the usual kiss,[c] although the Archbishop made demonstration of his willingness to receive it. At the Archbishop's request, he ordered that William de Courcy should give up a lodging which he had ventured to retain, notwithstanding the command of the preceding day; but he absolutely refused Becket's petition for leave to carry his complaints against Roger of York to the Pope; neither the Archbishop nor any one else, he declared, should have his license to cross the sea.[d]

Wednesday, October 7.

The case of John the Marshal was then entered on. This nobleman had brought before the Archbishop's Court a claim to part of the Manor of Pagham, in Sussex, which belonged to the See of Canterbury; and

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[a] Roger, 132; Fitzst., 218.

[b] See as to it, Dugdale, 'Monast. Angl.,' v. 185-6.

[c] "Osculi consuetam *Anglis* gratiam" (Fitzst., 218). I have seen (but forget the title of) a volume of travels by a Frenchman, who visited England in the end of the 17th century, and expresses his surprise at the fondness of the English for such salutations—a proof, seemingly, that an exchange of manners has since taken place between the two nations.

[d] Fitzst., 219; Roger, 133.

as the suit appeared to be going against him, he had taken advantage of a law (apparently one of the Clarendon constitutions[a]) which enabled suitors, in such circumstances, to remove their cases into the King's Court by swearing that they had failed to obtain justice. A writ had thereupon been issued, by which the Archbishop was summoned to answer to the charge of injustice; but on the day appointed, instead of appearing in person, he sent four knights, with letters from himself and the Sheriff of Kent, in which it was stated that John had failed in his evidence, and that his oath on removing the suit, instead of being duly made on the gospels or on relics of saints, had been sworn on a tropary which he produced from under his cloak.[b] The King, however, had not admitted this excuse, and the Archbishop was now required to answer, not only for his alleged refusal of justice, but for his nonappearance at Westminster, which was charged as treason against the Sovereign. As John himself was not yet in attendance, being detained in London by the business of the Exchequer, the question of treason was to be first examined; and to this the council proceeded on the second day of its sittings, when in addition to the nobles of England, and to some from Normandy, all the

Thursday, October 8.

[a] See p. 98.

[b] Fitzst., 219; Foliot, v. 275; Roger, 130. The *Troparium* was so called from containing *Tropes*, which were properly certain versicles sung at mass on particular festivals before the Introit, or alternately with the versicles of the Introit. They are now disused in the Roman church. (See Ducange, s. v.; Guéranger, Institutions Liturgiques, i. 260; Daniel, Codex Liturg., i. 116.) Mr. Sharon Turner makes the tropary "a book of songs," and is followed by Mr. Froude (p. 85), while another late writer still further improves it into "a jest-book!"

bishops were assembled, except Walter of Rochester, who did not arrive until later, Nigel of Ely, who was paralytic, and William of Norwich, who absented himself out of dislike for the King's supposed designs, and expressed a wish that he had as good an excuse as his neighbour of Ely.[a] The Archbishop's defence—that he had been ill and unable to travel—was rejected as insufficient to excuse his neglect of his liege lord's summons; and it was unanimously adjudged that he was "at the King's mercy,"—a phrase which implied the forfeiture of all his effects, unless the King should be pleased (as was usual in such cases) to accept a fine by way of commutation. A lively discussion now arose between the prelates and the barons—each party endeavouring to shift on the other the duty of pronouncing sentence. The barons argued that, as the culprit was an ecclesiastic, it was not for laymen, but for his own brethren, to sentence him. "Nay," answered a bishop, "it is rather your business; for this is not an ecclesiastical but a secular judgment: it is not as bishops, but as barons, that we sit here; we are all peers and barons alike. If you speak of *our* orders, you must have regard to *his* orders too; and even because we are bishops, we may not judge our metropolitan and lord." At length the King in anger put an end to the debate by ordering the bishop of Winchester to deliver the judgment, and the aged prelate unwillingly performed the task. The Arch-

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[a] Fitzst., 220; Gervase, 1391. But the authorities are not quite agreed as to the absentees. Alan afterwards speaks of the Bishop of Norwich as present, 347.

bishop had been disposed to resist the authority of his judges, but submitted at the entreaty of the bishops, who all, with the exception of Foliot, joined in giving security for his payment of 500*l.*—the fine which was inflicted in lieu of forfeiture.[a] The original question as to his treatment of John the Marshal was allowed to fall to the ground.[b]

Henry, however, had not yet done with Becket, to whom he had declared that he meant to reduce him to the condition in which he had found him.[c] His own wish was to attack the Archbishop on subjects connected with the ecclesiastical privileges; but, as his advisers represented that the bishops would probably be unwilling to take a part against what was regarded as the cause of the Church, he consented to change his policy, and had recourse to charges of a personal kind.[d] The nature of these charges and the manner in which they were prosecuted have been freely censured by writers who are decidedly unfavourable to Becket;[e] they were, in truth, chosen as the only available weapons against an opponent who had given the King just cause for displeasure, but seemed likely to escape if other means of prosecution had been employed. First a demand was advanced for 300*l.*, which Becket had

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[a] Fitzst., i. 221; Grim, i. 40; Roger, i. 133; Garnier, 77*.

[b] Roger, i. 134. Becket's biographers, who delight in tales of judgments on his opponents, state that within a year John lost two sons, for whom he had intended to provide out of the church's patrimony, and himself also died. (Grim, i. 40; Garnier, 32.) The Archbishop also mentions these deaths, which he ascribes to John's having wrongfully got Mundeham (in Pagham) from the King, iii. 220.

[c] Roger, i. 130; Garnier, 28.

[d] Roger, i. 137.

[e] As Inett, ii. 258; and Mr. Martineau, 341.

received as warden of Eye and Berkhampstead. He replied that he had spent that sum and much more on the repairs of the castles, and of the Tower of London; but, as the King denied that he had sanctioned the expenditure, the Archbishop declared that a question of money should not be a bar to peace, and gave three securities for the payment,—his old adversary, William of Eynesford, being one.[a]

Friday, Oct. 9.

The proceedings of the third day opened with charges about two sums of 500 marks each, connected with the war of Toulouse,—the one lent by Henry, the other borrowed by the Chancellor from a Jew, on the King's security. Becket affirmed that the first of these sums was a gift, but the King demanded a judgment, and it was decided that, as the Archbishop could produce no evidence in support of his statement, he must pay the money. The King then asked for securities, and, on Becket's answering that he had property far more than sufficient to meet the demand, Henry jeeringly reminded him that all his moveables had been confiscated on the preceding day, and intimated that he must find security or be arrested. Five sureties were therefore bound, each for a hundred pounds.[b]

These demands were followed by one of more alarming magnitude,—that the Archbishop should account for the revenues of vacant sees and abbeys which had come into his hands while Chancellor, including those of the archbishopric itself. The amount of this demand is variously stated. Herbert, according

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[a] Fitzst., i. 221-2.

[b] Fitzst., i. 222; Herb., vii. 137.

to the 'Quadrilogus' (which is very inaccurately printed), is made to rate it at 230,000 marks; in Dr. Giles's edition (which, although very far from immaculate, is probably more correct here) his words are "about 30,000;" while others speak of it as 40,000 or 44,000.[a] The Archbishop replied that he had not received notice to answer to any charge except that which concerned John the Marshal, and protested against being thus hurried into a trial of such serious importance. The King, however, declared, with violent oaths and threats, that he would endure no delay beyond the morrow. It was now clear to the observant courtiers that the Archbishop's ruin was determined on; and from this time they ceased to visit him.[b]

On the morning of the fourth day the Archbishop held a consultation with the other prelates. The Bishop of Winchester advised that the King's avarice should be gratified, and offered to give liberal aid for the purpose. A composition of 2000 marks was accordingly proposed to Henry; but he refused it,[c] and by his order the bishops were shut up to resume their deliberations. The opinions which they now expressed were various as the characters of the speakers. The Bishop of London began by advising that, in consideration of past favours, and of the dangers

Saturday, Oct. 10.

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[a] Quadril., 48; Herb., vii. 137; S. T. C. iv. 271; vi. 196. Perhaps the editor of the Quadrilogue may have mistaken "circa" for "cc." 30,000 *pounds*, which Roger names (i. 140) as the amount, would not differ much from 44,000 *marks*. John of Salisbury, in a letter addressed to Becket as Chancellor, mentions a report that the King had given him the income of three vacant bishoprics, "ad liberationem vestram." (*Liberatio* = *salary*—Ducange, *s. v.*) Ep. 75.

[b] Fitzst., i. 222; Roger, i. 134.

[c] Fitzst., i. 222.

which threatened the Church, the Primate ought to yield up his see, if it were ten times as much, and to submit himself to the King, who might possibly by such a compliance be induced to restore him. Hilary of Chichester in ornate language, Robert of Lincoln with a blunt simplicity, and Bartholomew of Exeter tendered similar counsel, while Henry of Winchester and others, more or less distinctly, advocated an opposite course. "If," said the Bishop of Winchester, "an archbishop, the Primate of all England, give bishops an example of yielding up their authority, and the care of the souls committed to them, at the nod and threat of a prince, what is to be expected but that the whole state of the Church should be confounded by arbitrary will, and that as is the people so should be the priest?"[a] It was argued that no question could now be raised as to the Archbishop's administration of funds while Chancellor, inasmuch as at his election to the primacy an express declaration of his discharge from all secular obligations had been required by the Bishop of Winchester on the part of the Church, and had been granted, in the King's name, by Prince Henry and the Grand Justiciary.[b] At length Becket desired leave to speak with the Earls of Cornwall and Leicester, and the doors were opened for their entrance. The Archbishop announced to them that he and his brethren had not yet been able to come

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[a] Alan, i. 223; Gervas, 1390. Roger (139), and Garnier (41), represent this sort of talk as having passed on the last day of the council, and the Bishop of Winchester as having then advised a resignation.

[b] Herb., vii. 138; Fitzst. 223. See Appendix XVII.

to a determination, and that they requested the King to grant them a further delay. The Bishops of London and Rochester accompanied the Earls to the Court, and it is said that Foliot falsified his message so as to mislead the King into supposing that an answer of submission might be expected. On this supposition Henry returned an answer by the Earls, and the Bishop of London was put to the blush by the exposure of his artifice which naturally followed.[a]

Throughout Sunday, the 11th of October, the Archbishop remained within his monastery, and employed the greater part of the day in anxious deliberations. In the course of the following night the agitation of his mind brought on an attack of an illness to which he was subject, and on the morning of Monday he was unable to appear at court. The King, suspecting that the illness was feigned, sent the Earls of Cornwall and Leicester to visit him, and to ask whether he would appear and would give bail to abide a trial as to the revenues; to which he answered that he would appear next day, even if he should be carried on his couch.[b] In the mean time he was told that Henry was swearing with even more than usual vehemence, that some of the courtiers had conspired to kill him, and that the King had declared an intention of either putting him to death, or depriving him of his eyes and tongue, and imprisoning him for the remainder of his days.[c] Of these reports a part would seem to have been a mere

[a] Alan, i. 344-5; Gervas., 1391.
[b] Roger, i. 135; Herb. vii. 138; Garnier, 34.
[c] Grim, i. 42; Roger, i. 135; Garnier, 35.

invention, and the rest to have been greatly exaggerated.[a]

The 13th of October—Tuesday—was the last and most memorable day of the council.[b] Early in the morning the Archbishop was waited on by some bishops, who urged him to avert the dangers of the Church by throwing himself unreservedly on the King's mercy, and represented to him that, if he should persist in his refusal, he would incur at once the charges of treason and of perjury, for breach of his feudal duty and of his engagement to obey the Constitutions of Clarendon. To this he replied that he had been deeply wrong in swearing against God, and that it was better to retract his oath than to consent to laws which were contrary to the Divine law. He, therefore, charged the bishops to stand by him in rejecting the constitutions; he rebuked them for having thus far joined with laymen in judging him, their father, and charged them, on their obedience to the Roman Church, to do so no further; and he enjoined them, if any violence should be offered to him, to lay the sentence of excommunication on the authors of it. The only one of the bishops who answered was Foliot, who at once appealed to Rome against this exercise of authority; and the bishops withdrew, with the exception of those of

[a] "Je ne sais si li reis l'out fait apareillir,
Qu'il volsist l'arcuesque faire occire u lier;
Mais einsi li alerent le jur souent nuncier.
Puet cel estre, li reis le uoleit esmaier
Que il le plust mielz par manaces plaissier."
Garnier, 40.

[b] By Alan of Tewkesbury (S. T. C., i. 346), and others, it is strangely said to have been the hundredth anniversary of the Norman invasion. It was really (as Mr. Morris mentions, p. 139) the anniversary of the Translation of Edward the Confessor, which Becket had performed with great solemnity a year before.

Winchester and Salisbury, who remained to comfort the Primate.[a] By way of preparing for the expected conflict, the Archbishop then, by the advice of a "religious man," proceeded to the altar of St. Stephen in the monastic church, where, solemnly arraying himself in the pall, which was usually reserved for high festivals,[b] he celebrated the mass of that saint, beginning with the introit *Etenim sederunt principes* ("Princes also did sit and speak against me"). His performance of this service was interrupted by a profusion of tears and sobs, and in the course of it he solemnly commended the cause of his Church to St. Stephen, the Blessed Virgin, and the patron saints of Canterbury. As some of the King's servants had been present, this act was forthwith reported at court, with the commentary (surely very warrantable, although it has been treated as the suggestion of bitter malice) that Becket intended a parallel between himself and the protomartyr.[c] On leaving the altar, the air of

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[a] Herb., vii. 140-1; Gervas., 1391.

[b] "Hanc quidam missam, præter morem, eo die, quia festus non erat, cum pallio celebravit" (Herb., in Quadril. 53). Dr. Giles adds,—"Nisi quia beati Calixti papæ et martyris natalicium fuit" (which looks like an interpolation), and makes nonsense of the passage, by omitting "præter morem" (vii. 142).

[c] Roger, i. 135; Fitzst., i. 225; Alan, i. 346; Herb., vii. 142; Garnier, 35; Gervas., 1391. The adviser is said to have told him that after this mass nothing could hurt him (Garn., Roger). Gervase says that he used the mass of St. Stephen, not with reference to his own circumstances, but because the altar was St. Stephen's. But why was that altar chosen? According to Garnier, Foliot afterwards told the Pope that Becket celebrated this mass "pur *sorcerie*.... et despit le rei." *l. c.* Becket was never backward to claim a parallel with a yet more sacred example than St. Stephen; and this is carried out in the most extravagant (and, to modern taste, most offensive) manner by the old biographers. Herbert's 'Liber Melorum' is

contrite humility which he had worn during the celebration was exchanged for a look of stern resolution—"the face of a man at once and the face of a lion," as Herbert describes it with an allusion to the vision of Ezekiel.[a]

It was his intention to proceed to the court barefooted, arrayed in his pontificals and bearing the cross in his hand, in the hope that by such an appearance he might awe those who had ventured to become his judges; but at the entreaty of some Templars, whom he highly regarded, he reluctantly gave up this and went on horseback, wearing his ordinary dress, but secretly carrying the consecrated Eucharist on his person.[b] As he passed along the streets of Northampton, crowds of people, supposing that he was on his way to certain death, prostrated themselves, and with prayers and tears besought his blessing. The great gates of the castle were opened at his approach, and were hastily shut again as soon as he had entered. The Archbishop dismounted in the court, took his cross from the bearer, Alexander Llewellyn, and entered, attended by a single clerk, the doors immediately closing behind him.[c] The prelates who were assembled in the hall, on seeing him with the cross in his hand, were alarmed, as it appeared to them a sign that he intended to brave the King and to claim for himself the character of a champion of Christ against the

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expressly devoted to it; and the writer usually, there and elsewhere, speaks of himself, like St. John, as "the disciple which wrote these things."

[a] vii. 142. (Ezek. i. 10.)

[b] Roger, i. 136; Fitzst., i. 225; Herb., vii. 142-3; Garnier, 37. Modern writers, however, have for the most part followed less accurate authorities, who represent him as having retained his pontificals.

[c] Roger, i. 136; Fitzst., i. 223.

power and the violence of His enemies.[a] The Bishop of Hereford requested leave to carry the cross as his chaplain; but the offer was declined. "My Lord of London," said the Archdeacon of Lisieux[b] to Foliot, "why do you allow him to carry the cross himself?" "My good friend," was the answer, "he was always a fool, and will always be one."[c] Foliot, however, endeavoured to wrest the cross from the Archbishop's hands, saying that it was his own privilege, as dean of the province, to carry it; and a somewhat unseemly struggle ensued, in which Becket, being the younger and the stronger man, had the better. "Brother," said the Bishop of Winchester, "let the Archbishop keep his cross; for it is right that he should carry it." To this Foliot made an angry answer; and, when the Archbishop had taken his seat, with the cross in his hands, he again urged him to lay it down, lest the King should regard it as a sword drawn against him. Becket replied that the King's sword was an instrument of war, but the cross a sign of peace, and therefore he would not let it go.[d]

Roger of York was the last prelate who entered the hall, having delayed his appearance in order that he might not be supposed to have been concerned in advising the King's proceedings. His cross was borne before him—an order which Becket had obtained from

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[a] S. T. C., iv. 257.

[b] Hugh of Nunant. He afterwards forsook Becket, and in 1187 became bishop of Lichfield. See Herbert, vii. 364. There is a life of him in the 'Anglia Sacra.'

[c] Fitzst., i. 225. Others represent these words as spoken directly to Becket.

[d] Roger, i. 137; Alan, i. 346; Garnier, 38-9; Herb., vii. 143; Gervase, 1392; Hoveden, 283.

the Pope, that he should not use it beyond his own province, being for the present eluded by an appeal.[a] Roger, in an angry tone, renewed the remonstrances which had been made against the Archbishop of Canterbury's cross, and advised him to lay it down, lest the King should be provoked. "If the King's sword can kill the body," said Becket, "my sword smites spiritually, and can send the soul to hell."[b]

The King, on hearing how the Archbishop was armed, had withdrawn into an inner room, where he remained throughout the day.[c] The bishops and nobles were summoned into his presence, and Becket was left in the hall, deserted and shunned by all but two or three of his clerks. From the King's chamber there was a continual sound of loud and angry voices, and when from time to time the door of communication was opened, that some of those from within might descend into the hall, the noise was so terrible that the Archbishop and his companions crossed themselves by way of seeking protection.[d] Herbert took an opportunity of suggesting that, if any violence should be attempted, the Archbishop should resort to excommunication; but Fitzstephen reproved this counsel, and desired him rather to imitate the saints and martyrs of old in patient endurance and forgiveness of injuries. In saying this, he was interrupted by one of the King's officers, who told him that he must not speak to the Archbishop; where-

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[a] Fitzst., i. 226; Alex. ad Thom. in S. T. C., iv. 8; ad Roger. ib. 44.
[b] Grim, i. 43; Hoveden, 283 *b*.
[c] Gervase, 1392.
[d] Herb., vii. 145.

upon he significantly pointed to the cross—an action of which he was long after reminded when he visited his master in exile at Fleury.[a]

On the entrance of the bishops into his apartment, the King complained of the injury which the Archbishop had done him by coming to his Court as if it were that of a traitor and a persecutor rather than of a Christian sovereign. The bishops hastened to clear themselves from the suspicion of any complicity in this or the Primate's other proceedings.[b] They told the King that Becket had rebuked them for joining in judgment against him; that he complained of the fine of 500*l.* as unjust, seeing that custom had fixed in every county a rate of commutation for goods and chattels forfeited to the King's mercy, and in Kent, where the property of his see lay, this composition was only forty shillings; that he had forbidden them to take any further part in the proceedings against him, and had appealed to the Pope. On hearing this, Henry sent the Earls of Leicester and Cornwall to ask the Archbishop whether it were true that he had acted so, in violation of his allegiance to the Crown, and especially of his oath to observe the Constitutions of Clarendon, by which, among other things, the bishops were bound to attend the King in all trials except such as involved life. The Earls were also charged to inquire whether he would give in

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[a] Fitzst., i. 226-7.

[b] Herb., vii. 144. The imputation on the King implied in carrying the cross was afterwards insisted on by Henry's envoys to the Pope (R. Wendover, ii. 307), and by Foliot in the letter which has been often mentioned (S. T. C., v. 279).

the accounts of his Chancellorship, and would abide a judgment in that matter. The Archbishop, sitting with the cross in his hands, heard the message, and replied to it with calmness—that he had always been faithful to his duty as the King's liegeman; that he had been cited to answer as to the affair of John the Marshal alone, and ought not to have been called on to defend himself against any other charge; that he had served the King faithfully in secular offices, had spent all the revenues in his service, and had even contracted debts for it; that he had received a full acquittance from all secular obligations at the time of his election;[a] that he had made his appeal against being judged by the bishops, and would keep to it, placing himself and the Church under the protection of the Pope. The Earls withdrew, and some of the barons and courtiers, with significant looks and tones, began to talk loudly, so that the Archbishop might hear, of oppressions and barbarous acts which had been committed by the King's ancestors on both sides against contumacious ecclesiastics.[b]

The King endeavoured to force the bishops to join in judging the Primate, but they pleaded the prohibition which had been laid on them. Henry's exasperation became more and more outrageous, so that even the Archbishop's enemies were alarmed for the consequences.[c] Roger of York left the council chamber, and,

[a] Hoveden makes him say also that he had often given in his accounts (283 *b*); but this seems to be a mistake.

[b] Fitzst., i. 230-2; Roger, i. 134.

[c] Gervase, 1392. Garnier says that, on hearing Becket's refusal to give an account, the King

"D'ire deuint vermeilz plus que carbuns sur cendre."

—(44.)

on reaching the hall, said to two of his chaplains whom he found there, "Let us withdraw; for it is not fit that we should look on what is to be done here as to him of Canterbury." One of the chaplains, however, replied that he would wait to see what God's will should determine; that the end could not be better than if the Primate were to give his blood for the right.[a] Roger then turned to Becket himself, and entreated him for the sake of the other bishops to comply with the King's will. "Hence, Satan!" was the only answer.[b] Others of the bishops also attempted to prevail on the Primate, but found his resolution immoveable.[c]

At length an expedient was devised by which the bishops might escape the necessity of joining in the judgment. The King agreed to excuse them on condition that they should appeal to the Pope against the Primate for perjury—a measure by which some of them led him to believe that Becket's deposition might be procured.[d] They then returned to the hall, and Hilary of Chichester, in the name of all, told the Archbishop that, as he and they had pledged themselves to the constitutions, and as he had now violated his oath, they regarded him as perjured, renounced their obedience to him, and appealed against him.[e] "I hear what you say," answered Becket, "and, with God's blessing, I will be present at the trial of your appeal." There was some curious casuistry in the words which followed.

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[a] Alan, i. 347.
[b] Garnier, 44.
[c] Alan, i. 347.
[d] Garnier, 42; Herb., vii. 146; Gervas., 1392.
[e] Gervas., 1392.

The first of all duties, he said, is that which we owe to God. The concessions which he and the bishops had made at Clarendon implied by their very terms a reservation of the Church's rights, since nothing against these could be observed "in good faith," "without evil device," or "loyally;" nor could an infringement of the Church's privileges be part of the "dignities" of a Christian king. The Pope had sent back the constitutions rather with reprobation than with approbation.[a] "If," he continued, "we fell at Clarendon, we ought now to rise again; if we there swore wrongly, unlawful oaths are not to be observed."[b]

In the mean time the barons had determined that, as the Archbishop had refused to abide a trial in the King's Court, his contumacy must be punished with imprisonment:[c] and, as the bishops took their seats on the side of the hall opposite to the Archbishop, the Earl of Leicester, at the head of a body of nobles and others, entered to pronounce the sentence. The Earl advanced until he reached the place where the Archbishop was sitting, but Becket did not rise to receive him, and regarded him with a haughty look. Speaking slowly, and with evident unwillingness, from a recollection of their former friendship, the Earl recounted the benefits which Becket had received from the King, and the unworthy return which he had made. "Hear, then," he said, "your sentence." "Nay, son Earl," interrupted Becket, "do you first hear me." He repeated his objections to the proceedings against him, and declared

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[a] "Potius improbatæ quam approbatæ."—Fitzst., i. 235.

[b] Fitzst., i. 235; Garnier, 41.

[c] Hoveden, 283 *b*.

that, even if laymen might judge a bishop, no sentence could be pronounced on one who had appealed to a higher tribunal. "What?" asked the Earl, "how can you decline the King's judgment, since you hold your estates from him in fee and barony?" "I hold nothing in fee or barony," was the answer; "but whatever the Church has, she holds in free and perpetual alms, without being subject to any earthly dominion." And he went on to declare, that, as much as the soul is more precious than the body, so much and far more was the Earl bound to obey God and him rather than any earthly sovereign; that the priesthood is superior to royalty as much as gold to lead;[a] that as the son must not condemn the father, he declined all judgment from a secular tribunal, and charged the Earl in God's name, under pain of anathema, to proceed no further, since he had appealed to the Pope, who alone was competent to judge him.[b]

Raising his crosier aloft, he proceeded slowly to leave the chamber, followed by Herbert of Bosham.[c] A tumult of voices arose in mockery and reproach. Among the foremost of his assailants were Ranulph de Broc,

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[a] Since Gregory VII.'s time, the ingenuity of the hierarchical party had been exercised in finding illustrations of the superiority of ecclesiastical over temporal power. Becket retails Gregory's expressions as to this, with the instances (partly fabulous) by which they were enforced. (S. T. C., iii. 373-4.) Gregory declared the two powers to be the work of God and the devil respectively. (Hardouin, vi. 1471.) Honorius of Autun regards Abel as a type of ecclesiastical authority, and Cain of secular. (De Apostolico et Augusto, c. 1, Patrol., clxxii.)

[b] Grim, i. 47; Roger, i. 141; Fitzst., i. 235; Alan, i. 348; Herb., vii. 147; Garnier, 44-5; Hoveden, 283 *b*; Gervas., 1393. Foliot strongly argues that in a secular cause the Archbishop ought not to have declined the King's judgment. (S. T. C., v. 275, *seqq.*)

[c] Herb., vii. 148.

and Earl Hamelin, the King's bastard brother, who cried out that he was going away as a traitor. At this, the Archbishop's impatient temper broke loose. He reminded De Broc that one of his near relations had been hanged (a misfortune, says one of the biographers, which had never befallen any of the Beckets[a]); and to Hamelin he applied the most hateful terms, adding that, but for his orders, he would prove him a liar in single combat. From the council chamber the Archbishop passed into the hall, where many of the King's servants and persons of inferior condition were collected. A pile of firewood lay in the way, and against this he incautiously struck his foot, so that he had difficulty in saving himself from a fall. Immediately the uproar became louder than before. Cries of "Perjured!" "Traitor!" "Stay and hear your judgment!" with hootings and yells of insult, sounded from every side; the way was hindered by the crowd; wisps of the straw with which the floor was covered, and other light missiles, were thrown at him. "The clamour of abuse and tumult," says Grim, "was no less than if the four quarters of a city were on fire, or entered by an enemy." It seemed as if the Archbishop might be torn in pieces, when the King, who had been informed of the scene which was passing, sent orders that he should be suffered to depart without hindrance. In the courtyard the Archbishop mounted his horse, but on reaching the outer gate of the castle a new difficulty occurred,—the gate was locked, and the porter

[a] Will. Cant., ii. 13. The biographers in general say nothing of Becket's answers to De Broc and Hamelin. According to Garnier, "Le saint huem ne dist mot, mais avant s'en ala."—16.

had quitted his post.[a] In this emergency, however, the attendant who had been holding the horse observed a large bunch of keys hanging near the gate, and, either by miraculously choosing the right key at once,[b] or by trying them one after another until he found it[c] (for both accounts are given by various biographers), he opened the gate, and the Archbishop issued forth.[d] Immediately after, a herald appeared, commanding, in the King's name, and under pain of death, that no violence or insult should be offered to him,—a command which Foliot, in reproaching Becket with his ingratitude to Henry, compares to David's charge, "Deal gently with the young man Absalom."[e]

The multitude without the castle, who had been anxiously waiting for the result of the day, and had even supposed the Archbishop to be already killed,[f] received him with enthusiasm. He rode through the crowded streets, with his cross in his hand, bestowing his benediction as he passed.[g] On reaching St. Andrew's monastery, he entered the chapel, and, as the hour of nones was passed, he celebrated that office and vespers together;[h] after which, having deposited his crosier beside the altar of St. Mary, he proceeded to the refec-

[a] Gervase tells us that he was busy in beating a boy. (1393.)

[b] Roger, i. 142; Garnier, 47.

[c] Alan, i. 349.

[d] Grim, i. 47-8; Roger, i. 142; Fitzst. i. 236.

[e] Fitzst., i. 236; Foliot, iii. 280; Hoved., 284; Garnier, 46*.

[f] Alan, i. 349.

[g] Fitzstephen seems to say that he took up Herbert of Bosham behind him. "Suum ascendens, magistrum Herbertum, qui equum proprium, propter pressuram nimiam, tam cito habere non poterat, secum ad hospitium transvexit." (i. 236.) But Herbert himself says, "cum essemus in *equis*." (vii. 148.).

[h] Roger, i. 143; Garnier, 46.

tory. Here he was waited on by many members of his household—knights and youths of gentle birth, who, in fear of the King's anger, requested with a mixture of grief and shame that they might be released from his service; and, having obtained his consent, they left him.[a] These, says Herbert, might be excused, as laymen, and therefore more within reach of the King's indignation; but he and others of the biographers reflect severely on the learned clerks, as many as forty in number, who, having been entertained by the Archbishop in his prosperity, deserted him, "swallow-like," on the approach of the storm.[b] As the usual companions of his table had disappeared, the Archbishop (of course with an intended reference to the parables) ordered the crowd from without to be called in, and entertained as many of them as could find room. His demeanour at supper was cheerful, and he addressed to his attendants a few words of exhortation on the duty of enduring insults quietly. "It is," he said, "the mark of a higher character to bear such things, and of a lower to do them. As they are masters of their tongues, so are we masters of our ears. It is not against me that evil is spoken, but against Him who takes note of the evil as spoken against himself."[c] In the passage of the 'Tripartite History,' which according to the custom of the time was read during the meal, a persecuted bishop was represented as quoting the text "When they persecute you in one city, flee ye to another;" and at the moment the eyes of the Arch-

[a] Fitzst., i. 237. [b] Herb., i. 149; Roger, i. 136.
[c] Fitzst., i. 236; Roger, i. 143.

bishop met those of Herbert, as if the words suggested the same thought to both.[a]

Before the end of the meal the Bishops of London and Chichester appeared, and proposed that the Archbishop should make his peace by resigning to the King for a time the manors of Otford and Mundeham. He replied that the King already had one manor which rightfully belonged to the Church of Canterbury, and that, rather than resign even his claim to that manor, he was willing to expose his head (which he touched as he spoke) to any hazard.[b] He then sent the Bishops of Rochester, Hereford, and Worcester to request the King's safe conduct for his return to Canterbury, and permission to go abroad.[c] These envoys found Henry in good humour, but he deferred his answer until the morrow; and late in the evening Becket was informed by two great noblemen (probably the Earls who have been already often named) with the strongest protestations of their truth, that some powerful and audacious men had conspired his death.[d] Everything seemed to point to the expediency of flight.

The Archbishop signified his intention of spending the night in the chapel; his bed was prepared behind the high altar, and the monks, on going to sing the

[a] Herb., vii. 150, says that the passage was the account of the persecution of Pope Liberius. The text in question, however, is not quoted there, but by the Arian Bishop Demophilus, on being turned out of Constantinople by Theodosius. Cassiodor. Hist. Trip. ix. 10.

[b] Alan, i. 350.

[c] One writer speaks of return to Canterbury; another of "egressum de terra." Fitzst., i. 237; Alan, i. 350; Herb., vii. 150.

[d] Joh. Sarisb. S. T. C., i. 330.

compline office, saw him apparently asleep.[a] But while these things were done to prevent suspicion, the means of escape were provided; horses were in waiting without the walls of the monastery; and in the middle of a dark and stormy night he passed through the unguarded north gate of Northampton.[b]

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[a] Garnier, 48.

[b] Roger, i. 144. For defences of his flight see Joh. Sarisb. in S. T. C., i. 330; Anon. Lambeth., ii. 98; Joh. Sarisb. Opera, ed. Giles, ii. 82; Buss, 325.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE BEGINNING OF EXILE.—OCT. 1164—JAN. 1165.

THE Archbishop was accompanied in his flight by two monks of Sempringham and by one of his own lay domestics.[a] After having ridden about five-and-twenty miles, in rain so heavy that Becket's clothes were saturated with water, and he was fain to lessen the weight of his cloak by twice cutting off the lower part of it, they rested for some hours at a village which is called by the biographers Graham or Grabam ;[b] and early on the following morning they entered the city of Lincoln, where they found lodgings at the house of one James, a fuller by trade, who was "known to the brethren."[c] Here the Archbishop disguised himself in a monastic dress, and assumed the name of Brother Christian, or Dearman.[d] From Lincoln he descended the Witham

[a] Roger, i. 144. See Appendix XVIII.

[b] Roger, i. 145; Herb., vii. 162; Gervase, 1393. The editor of Robert of Gloucester inserts in brackets the letters *nt* in the middle of the word *Graham*; but the position of Grantham does not very well agree with the description. Perhaps *Greetham*, near Oakham, or *Gretton*, may be meant.

[c] Grim, i. 48; Herb., vii. 162. The word *fullonis* becomes in the printed Gervase (1393) *Fulconis*, as if it were a proper name, while in the Quadrilogue (63) and in Dr. Giles's edition of Alan (S. T. C., i. 351) it is *felonis!*

[d] Both names are given. Rober

about forty miles, to a lonely hermitage among the fens, belonging to the monks of Sempringham,[a] where he remained three days for the purpose of recruiting his strength; and in the mean time measures were taken to facilitate his farther progress. Travelling by an unusual route, and chiefly during the night, he was received by a succession of friendly monks who had been secretly warned of his coming; and at length he reached Eastry, near Sandwich, a manor belonging to the monastery of Christchurch in Canterbury.[b] At this place he waited a week for the means of passing over to the Continent; and we are told that a small opening was made from his chamber into the church, so that without being seen he was able to share in the offices, to see the elevation of the Host, to receive the pax from a clerk who was in the secret, and to bestow his blessing on the people.[c]

On All Souls' day, before daybreak, he embarked at Sandwich in a little boat managed by two priests, and in the evening he reached the opposite coast.[d] On the same day a party of bishops and others, whom the King had commissioned to plead his cause with the Pope, crossed the sea from Dover.

Nov. 2.

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of Gloucester is amusing on the change of name:—

"Forth rod this holi man
As a frere, and let him clepen Frere Christian.
For he nolde lif nozt; Christene he was,
And he was adrad to beon iknowe if me clipede him Thomas."—59.

[a] It is called by the biographers *Haverholt*, which seems to mean Haverholme. See the Monasticon, vi. 949.

[b] Roger, i. 145-6; Herb., vii. 162-3; Garnier, 49-50; Gervase, 1393; Hoveden, 283, b.

[c] Alan, 352; Gervase, 1393; R. Glouc., 58.

[d] Joh. Sarisb. in S. T. C., i. 330. See Appendix XIX.

The biographers tell us that, while the Saint found the water delightfully calm, his enemies were tossed about by a violent tempest, so that Foliot in terror threw off his cloak and hood—a contrast which brings to Herbert's mind the exemption of Israel from the Egyptian plagues.[a] Into the probability of this story it is needless to inquire; but we may learn something as to Herbert's veracity from the fact that, in a passage which he seems to have forgotten, he had already described the Archbishop as having suffered from the roughness of the voyage;[b] nor can there be any doubt that, if the contrast had been reversed, an explanation favourable to the great hierarchical hero would equally have been put on it.[c]

The Archbishop did not yet consider himself out of danger. The news of his flight had by this time spread, and every traveller from England was naturally looked on with suspicion. The Count of Boulogne was to be dreaded, because Becket, while Chancellor, had on religious grounds opposed his marriage with King Stephen's daughter, the Abbess of Romsey, who by the death of her brothers had become heiress to that county.[d]

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[a] Fitzst. i. 238; Herb., vii. 169.

[b] vii. 163.

[c] The inference of the biographers, for instance, is very different when they have to relate the speedy passage of the Archbishop's murderers to England. Quadr., iii. 12.

[d] See Alex. III., Ep. 114 (Patrol., cc.); Herb., vii. 166. It is to the part which Henry took in this marriage of a nun that the Afflighem continuer of Sigebert traces the troubles of his latter years (Patrol., clx. 291). The Countess, after having borne two children, returned to the monastic life "unde invita discesserat." Rob. de Monte, ib. 511.

The Count of Flanders and the other chiefs of the country had already received letters from Henry, desiring them to aid him in seizing the "traitor."[a] It seemed well, therefore, to avoid the ports, and the fugitives landed on the sand, about a league from Gravelines. The Archbishop, unused to walking on rough ground, and encumbered by his long dress and clumsy monkish shoes, stumbled, fell, and cut his hands; whereupon he lay down on the ground, declaring himself weary and unable to go any farther. A boy was sent to the next village in quest of a horse, and the length of his absence gave occasion for all manner of apprehensions. At last, however, he returned, bringing with him a beast such as Father Blackhal would have styled "a lasche jadde,"[b] and with no other equipment than a halter made of hay. The monks spread their cloaks by way of a saddle, and the Archbishop mounted; but after riding a little—as Johnson gave up talking French to Paoli on "finding that he did not do it with facility,"[c]—he judged it "easier and more respectable"[d] to betake himself to his feet again.

Various other incidents of his journey are related—

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[a] Herb., vii. 166.

[b] Gilbert Blackhal, a Roman Catholic priest of Scotch birth and French education in the seventeenth century, wrote 'A Brief Narration of the Services done to three Noble Ladies,' which was printed for the Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1844. This had lately been noticed in the 'English Review' at the time when the articles on Becket were written; and I have retained the mention of Blackhal here, because it may possibly be the means of directing some reader to a very amusing and curious book.

[c] Boswell, iii. 82, ed. 1835.

[d] "Tolerabilius et honestius." Roger, i. 146-7.

how, as he was passing through a town, a woman struck with his appearance, and compassionating his evident weariness, rushed into her house, and returned to present him with a stick—which, although sooty, greasy, and scorched, from having been employed for drying fish in a chimney, he accepted graciously, and gladly made use of;[a] how he was near betraying himself by the interest with which he looked at a falcon on a young knight's wrist—a relapse into his earlier tastes for which Alan supposes that the ex-Chancellor may have sufficiently atoned by the anxiety to which it exposed him;[b] how, at a hostelry where he spent a night, the landlord discovered him, although he took no precedence of his companions, by his lofty and noble look, the whiteness of his long and slender hands,[c] and the air with which he distributed morsels from his plate to the children of the house; how the landlady, being informed of her husband's suspicions, began to distinguish "Brother Christian" above her other guests by especially waiting on him, and placing apples, nuts, and cheese before him; and how the Saint had much ado to keep the worthy couple from indiscreetly betraying his secret to others, who might have been less disposed to reverence him. At length the party reached the Cistercian mo-

[a] Roger, i. 147.

[b] "Forte timor ille hujus vanitatis culpam ipso tempore potuit diluere." The Knight said, "Either that is the Archbishop of Canterbury, or some one very like him." "Do you think that Archbishops of Canterbury tramp in this style?" asked some one; but the question is variously ascribed to the Knight's companion, to one of Becket's companions, and to the Archbishop himself. Roger, i. 147; Fitzst. i. 238; Alan, i. 352.

[c] See Appendix XX.

nastery of Clair-Marais; but feeling themselves still insecure, they left this place by night in a boat, and proceeded onward to a cell on a little island, belonging to the abbey of Sithiu or St. Bertin.[a] Here they were joined by Herbert of Bosham, who had been charged by Becket at Northampton to repair to Canterbury and endeavour to secure some portion of the archiepiscopal rents, which were then in course of payment. The King, however, had lost no time in ordering that the Primate's property should be placed under custody, as the pending appeals to the Pope prevented a confiscation; and Herbert had only been able to lay hands on a hundred marks, with some silver plate.[b] After having spent three days at the cell, the Archbishop removed, at the abbot's invitation, to the great abbey of St. Bertin,[c] which was close to the town of St. Omer; and as his arrival there took place on a Wednesday, he carried with him a large fish, which had miraculously jumped out of the water into his bosom, in order that the arrival of the party might not press too heavily on the fast-day provisions of their hosts.[d]

Sixty-seven years before, Anselm of Canterbury had visited St. Bertin's, when driven from England for a cause which was identified with that of Becket under the name of the Church's liberty;[e] and in the same

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[a] Chron. Sithiense, ap. Bouquet, xiv. 473; Alan, i. 353; Herb. vii. 170.

[b] Herb., vii. 151, 167-8.

[c] Chron. Sith., l. c.

[d] Alan, i. 353. Mr. Buss is so indifferent a "Catholic" as to omit this miracle; not so Mr. Morris, 156.

[e] Eadmer, Vita Anselmi, p. 19, ap. Anselm. ed. Gerberon; Annales de Marg., A.D. 1103, ap. Gale, ii.

monastery Theobald had since found a refuge when banished for attending a papal council in defiance of King Stephen's command.[a] At St. Bertin's the Archbishop had an interview with the Grand Justiciary De Luci, who, during the late troubles, had been engaged on a pilgrimage to Compostella, and was now returning by an indirect way, for the sake of transacting some business for his master with the King of France and the Count of Flanders.[b] This old friend strongly urged him to return to England, and undertook to make his peace with the King; but finding his advice ineffectual, he became angry, and told the Archbishop that he must no longer reckon on his support. "You owe me homage," said Becket, "and must not speak to me in this style." "I return you my homage," answered De Luci. "I did not give it to you as a loan," rejoined the Archbishop; and on these terms they parted.[c]

In the mean time Henry's envoys, the Earl of Arundel, the Bishop of London, and Richard of Ilchester, archdeacon of Poitiers, who were charged with a letter requesting that the fugitive might not be harboured in France, had an audience of the French King at Compiègne. Louis VII. had in his earlier days come roughly into collision with the Church by invading the right of

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[a] Gervase, 1364.

[b] Fitzstephen says merely, "a domino rege Francorum rediens" (i. 239); Grim and Roger state that he was on a mission to the Count of Flanders (i. 49, 147). I have combined these statements with Garnier's—

"De saint Jame par Flandres sun chemin acuilli."

(p. 51), which accounts for the non-occurrence of the Justiciary's name at Northampton.

[c] Grim, i. 49; Roger, i. 148; Garnier, 81.

election to bishoprics, and otherwise,[a] and had once been placed under a solemn interdict. His character, however, had undergone a change, and, from the time of the disastrous crusade in which he embarked at the instance of Pope Eugene and St. Bernard, while his reputation as a Sovereign had sunk, his devotion to the Church had become more and more submissive and superstitious. His rivalry to Henry[b] and his religious feelings combined to engage him in the interest of Becket. Soon after the breaking out of the troubles he had sent an assurance to the Archbishop that, if his fortunes should take him into France, he might reckon on being received "not as a Bishop or an Archbishop, but as a partner of his kingdom;"[c] and Becket, in thanking him, had pro-

[a] See St. Bernard's strong language against him, Epp. 224, 226.

[b] John of Salisbury writes from France to the Archbishop a little before the Council of Northampton:—"Regem nostrum Franci timent pariter et oderunt, sed tamen quod ad illos quieto et alto somno dormire potest." (Ep. 134, col. 114.) Walter Mapes mentions a curious conversation with Louis:—"Contigit ut cum rege moram facerem aliquamdiu Parisius, mecumque tractaret de regum divitiis, inter sermones alios dixit, Quia sicut diversæ sunt regum opes, ita multis distinctæ sunt varietatibus. In lapidibus pretiosis, leonibus et pardis et elephantis, divitiæ regis Indorum; in auro pannisque sericis imperator Bizanciis et rex Siculus gloriantur; sed homines non habent qui sciunt aliud quam loqui; rebus enim bellicis inepti sunt. Imperator Romanus, quem dicunt Alemannorum, homines habet armis aptos et equos bellicos, non aurum, non sericum, non aliam opulentiam. Karolus enim magnus, cum terram illam a Saracenis conquisisset, omnia præter munitiones et castella pro Christo dedit archiepiscopis et episcopis, quos per civitates conversus instituit. Dominus autem tutus, rex Angliæ, cui nihil deest, homines, equos, aurum, et sericum, gemmas, et fructus et feras et omnia possidet. Nos in Francia nihil habemus nisi panem et vinum et gaudium."—De Nugis Curialium, 215-6.

[c] iv. 253. Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 134, col. 113, c.

tested that, next to the King of England, there was "no mortal man in whom he more trusted for good, and honour, and support."[a] The King's behaviour to the English ambassadors was a strong declaration as to the part which he was resolved to take. When their master's letter was read, in which Thomas was designated as "*late* Archbishop of Canterbury"[b]—"Who then," said Louis, "has deposed him? I am a King as well as the King of England; but I should have no power to depose the meanest clerk in my dominions." To the demand that he should give Becket up, in compliance with an agreement between the two Sovereigns for mutual surrender of fugitives, he answered that he knew of no such agreement, but that, if one existed, it could not imply the delivery of the Archbishop, who was not the English King's vassal, but rather his lord and patron. The Earl of Arundel[c] reminded the King of the damage which Becket had done to France in the war of Toulouse; but Louis replied that in this the Chancellor had acted as a faithful servant of his Sovereign, who had since requited him most unworthily. And at last, when the envoys requested him to write to the Pope, desiring him not to favour Becket, he not only refused, but despatched a messenger with a request that Alexander would show his love for him by treating the banished Archbishop with love.[d]

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[a] iii. 383.

[b] "Qui Cantuariensis fuit Archiepiscopus." Bouquet, xvi. 107. The letter does not appear to be in Dr. Giles's collection.

[c] William de Albini, who had married the widow of Henry I.

[d] Grim, i. 50-1; Roger, i. 149-50; Herb. vii. 171; Garnier, 53-4.

From Compiègne the envoys, reinforced by Roger of York, the Bishops of Chichester and Exeter, and others, proceeded to the court of the Pope at Sens; but so strong was the general feeling in favour of Becket—(for Henry was popularly believed abroad to have usurped the whole administration of the Church) [a]—that the prelates of the party thought it well to disguise themselves as members of the Earl of Arundel's household.[b]

Herbert of Bosham and another of Becket's train were appointed to watch the movements of the Ambassadors and to counteract their efforts. They arrived at Compiègne a day later, and were received by Louis with the most gratifying affability and sympathy. "The King of England," he said, "ought, before treating such a friend and so eminent a person as the Archbishop so harshly, to have remembered the verse 'Be ye angry, and sin not.'" "Perhaps, Sir," said Herbert's companion, "he *would* have remembered it if he had heard it as often as we have done in church." At this sally

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[a] The chronicler of St. Bertin's says that, with the assent of "Roderick" of York, the Bishop of London, and Richard, Archdeacon of Poitiers [all members of this legation], with all his barons, Henry, "contra jus fasque pro suis gratibus omnem dignitatem et ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ censuram sibi violenter usurpavit." (A.D. 1064. Bouquet, xiv. 473.) Another chronicler says that the Archbishop was banished "propter veritatem et mansuetudinem et justitiam" (Andr. Marcianensis, ib. 422); and the historian of Vézelay, "Contigit ut [Thomas] usurpanti regi in morem Oziæ jura ecclesiastica velut alter Jonas [Azarias?] constanter restiterit." (Patrol. cxciv. 1644.)

[b] Fitzstephen, 240. Grim and Roger say that the first mission returned from the King of France, and that Henry then sent a second to the Pope. (i. 51, 151.) But this seems very unlikely, and more especially as the first envoys were all included in the legation to the Pope.

the King condescended to smile, and he dismissed the messengers with an assurance of safety for the Archbishop throughout all his dominions, declaring it to be one of the "royal dignities" of France to defend the persecuted, and especially those who were suffering for the Church.[a]

On reaching Sens, Herbert and his companion were admitted in the evening to a private interview with the Pope, to whom they detailed the course of the Archbishop's labours, perils, and sufferings. Alexander listened with interest, and even with tears. "Your master," he said, "although he is yet living in the flesh, may claim the privilege of martyrdom."[b] The following day was appointed for the audience of the English King's ambassadors, who had arrived at Sens on the day before Herbert. The Bishop of London opened the case by strongly blaming the Primate for the evils which had arisen. In allusion to the flight from Northampton, he quoted the text "The wicked fleeth when no man pursueth." "Spare, brother," said the Pope. "I *will* spare him, my Lord." "I do not mean that you should spare him, but yourself," rejoined the Pope: "it is clear that without cause you hate and persecute an innocent man;" and so much was Foliot confused by these words, that he paused and said no more.[c]

The next speaker was Hilary of Chichester, whose delight in the music of his own eloquence is a subject of frequent amusement to the writers of the opposite party.

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[a] Herb. vii. 172. The speech as to royal dignities seems also to have done service on other occasions. See S. T. C., i. 370; iii. 124.

[b] Herb. vii. 174.

[c] Roger, i. 151; Alan, i. 356.

His grammatical acquirements, however, were not on a level with his rhetoric, and the portentous word *oportuebat* excited the laughter of his hearers. "You have got badly into *port* at last," cried one of them; and, after a vain attempt to recover himself, the unlucky orator broke down.[a]

The Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Exeter followed, and the King's cause was wound up by the Earl of Arundel, who avoided an exhibition like that which had been made by his diocesan, by speaking in his native tongue, the only one which he professed to understand. His speech, which was marked by skill, vigour, and judgment, made a far greater impression than those of the ecclesiastics. He reminded the Pope of King Henry's good service and attachment; he allowed the Archbishop's high merits, and requested that the Pontiff would study to restore harmony, for the sake both of the Church and of the kingdom.[b] It was remarked that (with the exception of Foliot's mistake) the speakers refrained from attacking Becket, and preferred to insist on the merits of Henry; so that, although the Archbishop's clerks were present, and ready to speak in their master's defence, the Pope declared no defence to be necessary, inasmuch as nothing had been said against him. To the repeated praises of the King, Alexander uniformly answered that he was glad to hear so much in

[a] Alan, i. 356; Herb. viii. 244. Garnier's account of the speeches may be quoted—

"Deuant la pape esturent li messagier real,
Alquant diseient bien, pluisur diseient mal,
Li alquant en Latin, tel ben, tel anomal,
Tel qui fist personel del uerbe impersonal,
Singuler e plurel aueit tut par igal." (55.)

[b] Alan, i. 356-8; Gervase, 1396.

his commendation, and that he prayed God to increase his virtues.[a]

Finding the result of the audience unsatisfactory, the ambassadors attempted to gain Alexander by private solicitations; but they found him inflexible, although they were authorised to make various tempting offers, such as that Peter-pence, which had hitherto been exacted only from the villeins in England, should in future be paid by other classes, and should be secured to the see of Rome for ever.[b] He refused to depose the Archbishop or to send him back; "for," says Herbert, "for one to contend in an island against the king of the island is as if a chained prisoner were to contend against his gaoler."[c] And, although he had promised at the public audience to send two cardinals to England, agreeably to the desire of Henry, who had reason to believe such dignitaries to be not inaccessible to money, he absolutely refused to commit to these legates the final decision of the matter in dispute; never, he said, would he abdicate his office by granting a commission in which the appeal to himself should not be reserved.[d]

The ambassadors hurried away from Sens, partly because the King's instructions had limited their stay there to three days, so that they could not wait, as the Pope desired them to do, until they should be able to hold a discussion in his presence with Becket himself; and partly because they had reason to believe that some knights of the neighbourhood, "out of favour to the

[a] Fitzst., i. 241.
[b] Ib.
[c] vii. 176.
[d] Roger, i. 151; Alan, i. 358; Garnier, 56; Gervase, 1396.

Archbishop and of hatred to themselves," as Herbert says, had formed a design of attacking and plundering them.[a] On the fourth day after their departure, the Archbishop of Canterbury entered the city. From St. Bertin's he had sent a request that the Count of Flanders would grant him a safe conduct, but the answer was equivocal or worse, so that, on receiving it, he resolved to set out at once and by night.[b] He was accompanied to Soissons by the Abbot of St. Bertin's and by Miles, Bishop of Térouanne, a prelate of English birth.[c] The French King, on being informed of his arrival, waited on him at his lodgings, and pressed on him zealous offers of support;[d] and now, by the munificence of Louis, he appeared with a train of three hundred horsemen. The advancing and the retiring parties had seen each other by the way, on the opposite banks of a river, and Guy, Dean of Waltham, had been detached by the English ambassadors to observe the Primate's reception by the Pope.[e]

Alexander III. was a Churchman of the highest hierarchical school. His views as to the relation of

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[a] Herb., vii. 176; Fitzst., i. 251. Comp. Giles, Life and Letters, i. 288.

[b] Grim, i. 49-50; Roger, i. 149; Garnier, 52.

[c] Roger, i. 149; Sigeb. Contin. Valcellens. in Patrol., clx., 386. This Miles was nephew and successor of another of the same name. Daunou, who wrote a notice of him in the 'Hist. Litt. de la France' (xiii. 286-7), was not aware of his English birth.

[d] Gervase, 1397.

[e] Grim, i. 51; Fitzst., i. 242; Herb. vii. 177. It is said that at Lille there is a house which boasts of having been St. Thomas of Canterbury's lodging (whether at this time or on his return, does not appear), and bears the inscription, "Sancto Thomæ Canturbiensi, hujus ædis quondam hospiti, sit laus, honor, et gloria." Digby, Mores Catholici, x. 369, ed. 1.

sacerdotal and secular power had been memorably expressed some years before, when, as legate of his predecessor Adrian, he exasperated Frederick Barbarossa and the princes of Germany by asking, "From whom but the Pope does the Emperor hold his crown?"[a] He had proudly refused the invitation to submit the question of his election to a council convened by the Emperor, and in consequence of this it was that, while his rival Octavian was acknowledged and upheld by Frederick, Alexander had been obliged to leave Italy as a fugitive. It was, therefore, natural that the Pope's sympathies should be with the champion of the clerical immunities, and the power of the king in whose dominions he had found an asylum contributed to sway him in the same direction. There were, however, contrary forces, which acted on him with considerable strength. He had reason to fear the Emperor and the Antipope; for, although his original opponent Octavian, or Victor IV., had died in April, 1164, a successor, Guy of Crema, had been set up, under the name of Paschal III., and was supported by the Imperial influence. A breach with the King of England was to be dreaded above all things. Henry had been earlier and firmer in his support of Alexander than Louis, who, indeed, had been mainly secured to that Pope's interest through the influence of the English King.[b] His wealth, which exceeded that of

[a] Otto de S. Blas. c. 8, ap. Murator. Rer. Italic. Scriptores, vi.

[b] Pet. Bles., Ep. 144, in Patrol., ccvi. 1264 (written in the name of Queen Eleanor, to request the intervention of Cœlestine III. for Richard I. in his captivity). Pagi thinks this letter inconsistent with one in which Archbishop Theobald urges Henry to join Alexander, on

any other sovereign, was essential to the maintenance of the Pope's cause; and with such considerations, both from the past and from the future, to sway him, we may imagine the apprehension with which the Pope must have learnt that an emissary of Henry had been long at the Imperial Court,[a] and must have heard the hints which were broadly uttered by the lay members of the late legation, that their master, if provoked, might possibly transfer his obedience to Paschal.[b] Moreover, although in their general views Alexander and Becket were agreed, they differed widely both in the choice of a primary object and in character. To the English Primate the whole cause of the Church seemed to be bound up in the struggle for the immunity of the English clergy from temporal laws and courts, while the Pope was mainly intent on asserting the pretensions of the Papacy against the Empire: and whereas the most striking characteristic of Becket was the bold impetuosity of his spirit, Alexander's great strength consisted in a patient and indomitable tenacity, which, after years of exile from Italy, and a far longer term of exclusion from his own city, enabled him at length to humble the pride of Frederick, not only before the see of St. Peter, but before the new-born independence of its Lombard allies. Hence, although in other circumstances the Pope might have been ready to act with

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the ground that the French *church* was *said* to have already acknowledged him (Joh. Sar., Ep. 48; Pagi in Baron., xix. 178). But Theobald mentions this only as a report, and says nothing of the French King.

[a] iv. 254.

[b] Herb., vii. 175; Milman, iii. 478.

vigour and steadiness for the maintenance of Becket's cause, it is evident that he had been alarmed and annoyed by so unseasonable an outbreak of differences between the Primate and the King of England. Although, therefore, the conduct of Alexander, if we limit our view to the controversy which is now before us, will probably appear to us vacillating, crooked, double, and pusillanimous, a wider consideration may perhaps suggest a somewhat more favourable estimate of it, and we may even doubt whether, in the same circumstances, Becket would have obtained from the great hierarch Gregory VII. himself any more constant and open support than that which he received from Alexander. Yet this is no justification of that policy by which Gregory and Alexander alike were ready to sacrifice their friends for the sake of their own greater objects; and those writers have indeed undertaken a difficult task who feel themselves bound to defend alike the tortuous caution of the Pope and the headstrong vehemence of the Archbishop. Either Becket was too narrow, or Alexander was too unscrupulous.

Alexander, on receiving the first reports of the difficulties in which the English Primate was involved, had earnestly exhorted him to patience and conciliation in his dealings with the King.[a] The feelings of the Papal Court, soon after the Council of Westminster, are thus represented by an emissary of the Archbishop in a letter to his master: "They all extol in you that courage of which they feel themselves in every way

[a] Thom., Epp. 198, 200, &c.

devoid. They are all in such a state of imbecility that they seem to fear God less than men. So much are they affrighted by a number of things which have happened all at once, that at this time they would not dare to offend any prince in any point—especially the King of England—nor, even if they could, would they attempt to succour the Church of God, which is in danger all over the world."[a] The utmost help that could at that time be obtained from the Pope was a recommendation of the Archbishop and his Church to the prayers of some Cistercian communities.[b] When, however, Becket visited him at Sens, Alexander was disposed to take a more decided part. The King of France's letter and the imposing cavalcade of three hundred were not without their effect on him.

As the Archbishop approached the city, he was met by a number of cardinals on horseback, (although it is said that the greater part of those dignitaries had been gained by King Henry's money,) and, on his entrance into the Pope's presence, Alexander, as formerly at the Council of Tours, rose up to receive him.[c] A day or two later he was again admitted to an audience for the purpose of stating his cause—a task which devolved on

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[a] iv. 254. There is a similar picture of the papal court, with strong allusions to its venality, in a letter of John of Salisbury, written about the same time. Ep. 134, col. 114.

[b] S. T. C., iv. 255; vi. 248. There is among Foliot's epistles (Ep. 378) a strange forgery, purporting to be a letter from Alexander in the first year of his pontificate, telling the King of England, with much abuse of Becket, that the Archbishop is degraded, and urging Henry to expel him from the kingdom.

[c] Fitzst., i. 242.

the Archbishop himself, as his clerks, although there were many learned canonists and eloquent speakers among them, declined it, out of fear lest they should render themselves especially obnoxious to the King.[a] The Pope placed him at his right hand, and, as he was about to rise for the purpose of speaking, desired him to remain seated. After a short opening, in which he declared himself willing to endure anything rather than consent to the demands which were made against the liberties of the Church, the Archbishop threw himself on his knees, and, instead of the present which was customary in such cases,[b] spread out before the Pope the parchment which he had received at Clarendon. The Constitutions were then read aloud, and the Pope emphatically expressed his disapproval of them. Some, he said, might have been borne with, although none were good; but ten out of the sixteen he pronounced abominable, as being contrary to ancient canons and to all that was holy, and he anathematized all who should observe them.[c] William of Pavia, a cardinal who was supposed to be under especial obligations to the English King and to have planned the deposition of Becket, endeavoured to entangle him in disputation; but the Archbishop, whose fluent and elegant Latin is said to have been no less admirable than his readiness in argument,[d] broke through all his sophistries "like a spider's web," to the admiration of the

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[a] Roger, i. 152; Garnier, 57.

[b] Garnier, 57.

[c] The Constitutions are given by Herbert, in S. T. C., viii. 201, with notes of the Pope's approval or censure.

[d] Garnier, 57-8.

whole assembly.[a] The Pope strongly reproved Becket for having joined with the other English prelates in consenting to the Constitutions, even for a moment: a submission, he said, which amounted to renouncing their priesthood, and reducing the Church to the condition of a bondmaid. But he declared that the Archbishop's subsequent conduct had atoned for his passing weakness; "and thus," says Herbert, "having first rebuked him with the severity of a father, he dismissed him with the sweetness of a mother's consolation."[b]

On the following day the Archbishop was again admitted to an interview with the Pope. He broke out into lamentations over the unhappy condition of the Church, and traced all her calamities to his own promotion, effected as it had been, not by a free canonical election, but by the intrusion of royal power. He professed that he had long been weary of his office; that, from a wish not to give a precedent of sacrificing the Church's rights in order to appease a prince's anger, he had withstood the advice of his brethren who wished him to resign it: but that he had only reserved his resignation until he should be in the presence of the supreme Pontiff,—in whose hands he now placed the See of Canterbury, beseeching him to appoint to it a successor more capable of benefiting the Church. So saying, he drew off the archiepiscopal ring, and delivered it to the Pope; and the tears with which he accompanied the action affected all who were present. He then withdrew, and the conclave debated as to the acceptance of

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[a] Roger, i. 153. [b] vii. 181: cf. Alan, i. 361.

his resignation. Some of the Cardinals—"and these," says Alan, "were of the Pharisees"[a]—bribed by the King of England, according to other writers—regarded it as the best means of extricating the Church from the difficulties which beset her. But the opposite counsels prevailed; the champion of the Church, it was said, ought to be restored, "even if unwilling," and to be assisted by all possible means.[b] And Becket received his office anew from the hands of the Pope,—a mode of appointment which precluded all scruples as to the regularity of his former title.[c] Alexander assured him of his constant support and sympathy, and commended him to the care of the Abbot of Pontigny, a Cistercian monastery, about twelve leagues from Sens, which appears to have been chosen as a retreat by the Archbishop himself.[d] "Hitherto," he said, "you have lived in abundance and luxury; but, that you may learn to be in future, as you ought to be, the comforter of the poor, and as this lesson can only be learnt under the tuition of poverty herself, who is the mother of religion, we have thought fit to commit you to the poor of Christ."[e]

One of the King's ambassadors, John of Oxford, in his way homewards visited Henry's mother, the Empress Matilda, whom he endeavoured to prejudice against the Archbishop.[f] Our knowledge of this visit is derived from a letter in which Nicolas, master of a hospital at Mont S. Jacques, near Rouen, reports to Becket three inter-

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[a] i. 362. [b] Ib.
[c] See Appendix XXI.
[d] Herb., 197; cf. iv. 243-4. Alan, i. 363; see Appen. XXII.
[f] According to Becket's enemies, Matilda had opposed his appointment to the primacy (S. T. C., vi. 187).

views to which he himself and Herbert of Bosham were shortly after admitted by the Empress.[a] Matilda, after some hesitation, received from these envoys a letter with which the Archbishop had charged them, and requested them to read it aloud to her, as she did not wish her own chaplains to know of it. After hearing the contents, she professed that her son had kept her in ignorance of his designs, "because he knew that she was favourable to the liberty of the Church rather than to the royal will." At a later interview, she desired that the Constitutions of Clarendon might be read to her in Latin and explained in French. "The woman is of the race of tyrants," says Nicolas, "and approved some of them,"—among others, that which prohibited the excommunication of the King's tenants without his leave; to which Nicolas replied that Scripture says, "Tell it to the Church," not "Tell it to the King." She disapproved, however, of the greater number, and especially of their being reduced to writing, and enforced on the bishops

[a] Thom., Ep. 346. This letter is placed by Mr. Froude in January, 1166, as he connects it with a later mission of John to the Pope. Dr. Giles follows Mr. Froude in his date (iii. 340). But the letter evidently belongs to Christmas 1164; and I find that Dom Brial dates it accordingly (Recueil des Historiens, xvi. 226). The words "Joannes de Oxeneford, qui, ex consilio episcoporum vestrorum ad curiam reversus, et a curia veniens, per dominam imperatricem transitum fecit" (iii. 188) are somewhat difficult. Mr. Froude, omitting "de consilio episcoporum," renders them, "John of Oxford, who on his way from England to the court, and on his return, paid a visit to the Empress" (132). But unless we change the position of "reversus" and "veniens," the meaning seems rather to be that, after having left Sens in company with the other envoys, he returned to that city alone, and thence took his way to the Empress, not having visited her before.

by an engagement to observe them. Her skill in defending her son seems to have somewhat perplexed the envoys, and they were unable to gainsay her arguments as to the practical mischief of the clerical immunities. "She shows great discernment and reason in detecting the origin of the troubles of the Church; for she said some things in which we quite went along with her. The bishops indiscreetly ordain clerks who are without titles to any churches; whereby it comes to pass that a multitude of persons in orders, through poverty and idleness, fall into discreditable courses: for one who has no title to a benefice has no fear of deprivation. He does not fear punishment, because the Church will defend him; nor does he dread the Bishop's prison, since Bishops would rather that crime[a] should pass unpunished than take the trouble of doing their duty as pastors or keeping him in custody."[b] It does not appear how, after having admitted the truth of these remarks, the envoys justified their master's proceedings: but they secured from the Empress a promise of her mediation with the King. They also report an interview with Arnulf of Lisieux, who told them that, but for his debts, he would openly avow his sympathy with the Archbishop, and characteristically promised to befriend him in so far as it might be possible to do so without compromising himself.[c]

It was on Christmas eve that the King of England heard from his envoys the report of their ill-success at

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[a] "Commissum," Brial. The other editions read "conversum."

[b] Mr. Froude omits all after "For one who," &c.—a somewhat important omission.

[c] Thom., Ep. 346. Matilda reappears in connexion with a proposal that Becket should have a conference with her, A.D. 1166. Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 182.

the Papal Court. On the morrow of the festival, he issued orders that the Archbishop's property and the revenues of the See of Canterbury should be confiscated,[a] and that all Becket's kindred, clerks, and servants, with those who had harboured him in his flight, should be banished; the same oppressive measure which had been threatened against Foliot, in order to overcome his opposition to Becket's election, being now enforced against the Primate himself. The Bishops were commanded to withhold from the clerks attached to him all the income of preferments within their respective dioceses,[b] and were required to bind themselves by a solemn promise that they would not quit the kingdom, hold communication with the exiles, appeal to the Pope in any matter whatever, or receive any rescripts from him. Peterpence were to be gathered into the royal treasury, and to be kept there until further order. It was forbidden to mention the Primate in the public prayers. The sheriffs were charged to arrest and imprison all persons who should appeal to the Pope; and any one who should be caught in bringing letters from the Pope or the Archbishop was either to be hanged, or to be put into a crazy boat and turned adrift to the mercy of the waves.[c]

The chief instrument in the execution of these mea-

[a] Becket accuses Foliot of having shared in the spoil (iii. 175). See below, p. 160.

[b] As to the operation of this, see Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 140.

[c] Roger, i. 156; Fitzst., i. 243; Joh. Sarisb., in S. T. C., i. 331; Will. Cant., ii. 15; Anon. Lamb., ii. 100; Herb., vii. 198-200; Garnier, 66-8; Henr. ad Episcopos et Vicecomites, ap. Foliot, Epp. 481-2. M. Thierry represents these orders as given immediately after the flight (iii. 134); while Baronius (1164. 42) refers to this time another set of orders, which really belong to the year 1169 (p. 229, below). See Natal. Alex., xiii. 170, ed. Bingen, 1788.

sures was an old and persevering enemy of the Archbishop, Ranulf de Broc, to whom Henry entrusted the care of the archiepiscopal property. The original cause of this baron's enmity may probably have been a claim raised by Becket to the castle and lordship of Saltwood, which the King had bestowed on Ranulf in fee on their being forfeited by Henry of Essex, whereas the Archbishop contended that they ought to have then reverted absolutely to the see of Canterbury, under which they had before been held.[a] We have already seen that de Broc was foremost in insulting the Archbishop at Northampton, and he now performed his commission with an eager and superfluous barbarity. "Those," says Grim, "of whom God especially styles Himself the Father and Judge—orphans, widows, children altogether innocent and unknowing of any discord, aged men, women with their little ones hanging at their breasts, clerks and lay folk, of whatever age or sex, of the Archbishop's kindred, and some of his friends"—were seized in the depth of winter and mercilessly transported beyond sea, after having been obliged to swear that they would seek him out and present themselves before him, in order to add to his afflictions by the sight of their misery.[b] Some of the Archbishop's connexions, indeed, found

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[a] S. T. C., iii. 220. See Hasted's Kent, iii. 404, folio ed.

[b] Grim, i. 54; Fitzst., i. 255; Joh. Sarisb., in S. T. C., i. 331; Herb., vii. 198; Thom., Epp. iii. 288. "Quæ justitia," asks John of Salisbury, "proscripsit innocentes sine delectu professionis et ordinis, ætatis et sexus? Quis unquam tanta immanitate distraxit copulam nuptiarum?" (Ep. 193, col. 210-1.) Herbert mentions Ralph de la Serra as having been banished, "cum parentibus suis, jam magis sepulchro quam exilio aptis," although he neither be-

means of concealing themselves in England;[a] some of the wealthier, who could afford to do so, compounded for permission to remain; and the biographer Fitzstephen obtained an exemption from the general sentence by composing for the King's use a curiously rhymed Latin prayer, which he presented to Henry in person.[b] Those on whom the sentence of banishment was executed were absolved from their oath by the Pope, and such of them as were less able to travel remained in Flanders.[c] But many found their way to Pontigny; and Herbert fills much space with a long oration, in which the Archbishop's *eruditi* are said to have endeavoured to soothe his grief at the piteous spectacle of the multitude which was suffering for his sake, and with one of still greater length which is described as the reply. The cause for which the exiles suffered, however, procured for them a welcome in foreign lands, so that many of them were

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longed to the family nor to the household of the Archbishop. He afterwards became Dean of Rheims (vii. 365).

[a] Fitzst., i. 245; Herb. vii. 198.

[b] Fitzst., i. 245-6. Of this prayer a very small specimen may be enough:—

"Rex cunctorum sæculorum, Rex arcis etheriæ,
Rector poli, rector soli, regum Rex altissime,
Qui et maris dominaris, conturbas et excitas,
Et quum placet, stratum jacet, motum ejus mitigas."

Fitzstephen at a later time (probably after the reconciliation with the King) visited Becket at Fleury. (See above, p. 123.) Another William, who is styled "of Salisbury," and is described as a priest, and one of the Archbishop's chaplains, after having been allowed to stay in England, was imprisoned in Corfe Castle, in revenge for a fresh act of provocation on his master's part, but was set free at the intercession of the Pope and Foliot. See Fitzst., i. 245; S. T. C., iii. 7, 317; iv. 118; v. 6; Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 184, *fin.*; Diceto, 548.

[c] Thom., Ep. 22; Herb. vii. 211. Most writers omit to state that the actual suffering was thus mitigated.

better provided for than they had been in their own country:[a] nor was assistance from Henry of Winchester and other friends in England wanting, notwithstanding the royal order to the contrary.[b] Some of the clergy would seem to have been appointed to ecclesiastical benefices in France and elsewhere.[c] The women and children were received into convents, and the men were entertained by princes and nobles, by bishops, abbots, and clergy,[d] with a hospitality from which we should not think of detracting did not the exaggerated praises of some writers compel us to observe that the motives of it at first may not have been altogether free from factiousness,[e] and that its warmth subsided long before the necessity was at an end.[f]

The benefices of the banished or deprived clergy were committed by the King to the custody of the Bishop of

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[a] Joh. Sarisb., Epp. 137, 211, 214, &c.; Herb., vii. 214; Fitzst., i. 213.

[b] Fitzst., i. 268.

[c] The Pope desires the Bishop of Troyes to give Herbert the priory of his church (ap. Thom., Ep. 289); and in another letter he requests Louis to bestow an abbey on the Archbishop, for his support until better times should come. (Ap. Fol., Ep. 380.)

[d] Garnier, 65; Chron. Sithiense, ap. Bouquet, xiii. 473.

[e] It is amusing enough to find Becket expressing warm thanks for the kindness shown to his friends by the King and the Queen-mother of Sicily (Ep. 192), while in one letter he begs the Bishop-elect of Syracuse to intercede with these royal persons for the recall of the banished Archbishop of Palermo, Stephen de la Perche, as a measure which would gratify the King of France (Ep. 150; cf. Ludov., Ep. 452, ap. Bouquet, xvi.); and in another letter he speaks of the Sicilian King's power in ecclesiastical matters as the bad model which the King of England was imitating (Ep. 29, p. 93). For the "Sicilian Monarchy," see above, p. 106.

[f] Arnulf had warned Becket betimes that this would probably be the case, and had cautioned him accordingly as to his conduct (ed. Giles, p. 156). In some cases there may have been very sufficient

London, who is blamed by the opposite party for neglecting to give any relief to those who were in distress for their adherence to the Archbishop, and for allowing his officials to make undue profits by the renewal of leases. But, after having held this trust about a year, the bishop was compelled by the Pope to resign it.[a]

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reasons for growing tired of the guests. Thus, in the beginning of the exile, John of Salisbury reports to his master that he had asked the Bishop of Châlons-on-the Marne to take in one of the clerks. "He acquiesces readily, and only begs that you will send him some respectable person [aliquem probum hominem]. Yet he will receive whomsoever you send. But whenever you send one, pray instruct him to behave with modesty; for the people of this kingdom are modest." (Joh. Sarisb., i. 197, ed. Giles.)

[a] Fitzst., i. 249-250.

CHAPTER IX.

PONTIGNY.—DEC. 1164—EASTER, 1166.

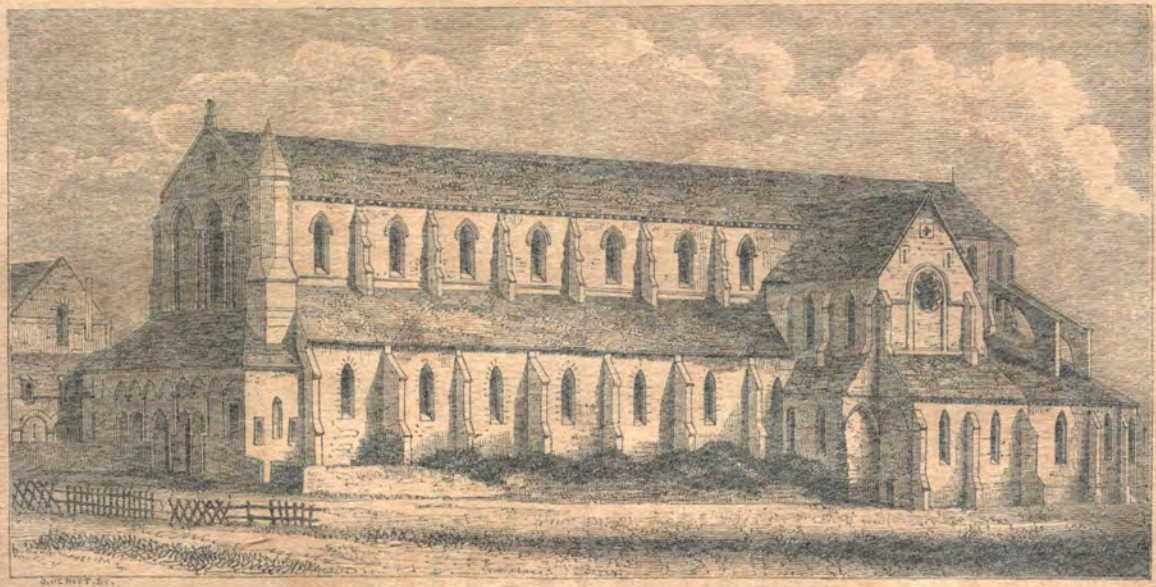
SIXTY-SIX years before the time when Becket found a refuge at Pontigny, the order of Cîteaux had been founded by Robert of Molesme, on the principle of a strict and literal conformity to the monastic rule of St. Benedict. Its monasteries were to be planted in lonely places; the monks were to eschew all pomp, pride, and superfluity; their services—unlike those of the elder society of Cluny, whose ritual was distinguished by splendour—were to be simple and plain. Some of the ecclesiastical vestments were discarded, and those which were retained were to be of fustian or linen, without any golden ornaments. No painting or sculpture was to be admitted into their churches; the windows were to be of plain glass, and no high towers were to be erected. They were to have only one iron chandelier; their censers were to be of brass or iron; no precious metal was allowed, except one chalice and a tube for the eucharistic wine, which were, if possible, to be of silver-gilt, but might not be of gold. The dress of the monks was white, agreeably to a pattern which the Blessed Virgin showed in a vision to the second abbot, Alberic; their fare was rigorously simple, and from the ides of September to Easter they were allowed to eat but one meal

daily. For some years the severity of the rule prevented any great accession of numbers; and the third abbot, an Englishman, named Stephen Harding, had begun to despair of the continuance of the order, when, in 1113, St. Bernard joined it accompanied by more than thirty of his relations and others, whom his exhortations had persuaded to embrace the monastic life. Immediately a new impulse was given to the order. The same year saw the foundation of La Ferté, the "eldest daughter" of Cîteaux;[a] Pontigny, founded by Hugh of Mâcon, afterwards Bishop of Auxerre, followed in 1114; and in 1115 the number of the four "chief daughters," to whom a large influence was assigned in the general affairs of the order, was completed by the foundation of Clairvaux and Morimond. After having thrown out these swarms, the Cistercian society increased with great rapidity, being mainly forwarded by the saintly repute of Bernard, who, for a quarter of a century before his death in 1153, exercised a virtual dictatorship over the whole of Western Christendom. In 1151 the number of its monasteries exceeded five hundred, and at this time the young order surpassed all other monastic communities in reputation and popularity.

Pontigny, the second daughter of Cîteaux, was one of the monasteries which had been desired by the Pope to put up special prayers for the Archbishop of Canterbury at the beginning of his struggle with the King,[b] and the abbot, Guichard, had been especially engaged

[a] Chaillou des Barres, L'Abbaye de Pontigny. Paris, 1844, p. 14.

[b] See p. 150.



ABBEY CHURCH OF FONTIGNY, WITH BECKET'S CHAPEL IN RUINS.

From the Work of Chaillou des Barres.

in his interest by his friend John, Bishop of Poitiers.[a] The great church of the abbey, a severe and majestic structure of a style intermediate between the Romanesque and the Gothic, founded in 1150, and probably completed about the time of Becket's retreat,[b] still remains entire amid the shattered conventual buildings, to connect our age with his, although the chapel in which he is said to have performed his devotions has been destroyed, and the only memorial of him is a wretched picture of his murder. Since his time Pontigny has served as a home to two other banished primates of England: Stephen Langton, in the reign of John; and Edmund Rich, who died an exile in 1242, and whose relics are enshrined behind the high altar.[c]

It was on St. Andrew's Day that Becket arrived at Pontigny, and he remained there nearly two years, being supported and clothed, with his attendants, at the expense of the community.[d] Shortly after his arrival, he requested that he might be furnished with a monastic habit, hallowed by the papal benediction; for, it is said, he wished to mark his renewed appointment to his office by becoming a monk, like the archbishops before him. The Pope complied with his request, and the biographers, in reporting some pleasantries which passed on the occasion of first trying on the dress, take occasion to inform us that the Archbishop's spare figure was so

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[a] Foliot, Epp. 243-4.

[b] See Chaillou des Barres, 31; Fergusson, Handbook of Architecture, 689. "Cette admirable Eglise, due à la munificence du Comte [Thibault] de Champagne, semble être d'un seul jet." Ch. des Barres, 35.

[c] See Chaillou des Barres, 105-8.

[d] Roger, i. 154.

stuffed out by the unsuspected shirt of hair that all the world supposed him to be a portly man.[a] He now endeavoured to conform in every respect to the strict rule of the Cistercians, but his mortification was carried on, as it had been at Canterbury, with a studious attempt at concealment. His table was placed by itself in the refectory, so that he was safe from the general observation. Viands suitable to his dignity were served on it, but he privately instructed the monk who waited on him to place among them the coarse and unsavoury *pulmentaria* of the Cistercian dietary; and to these for a time he restricted himself, allowing the more delicate food to be carried away for beggars[b]—from whom M. Thierry might probably claim a portion for distressed Saxon refugees. Nor did he refuse even to share in the bodily labours of his hosts; for we are told that he made hay and engaged in other agricultural works, which not even sickness could persuade him to intermit.[c] Garnier and Grim add other and more wonderful details of his mortification and devotion, borrowing (we suspect) somewhat too largely from the stock austerities of

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[a] Alan, i. 363-4; Herb., vii. 197. "Videbatur grossior," says Alan, "qui fuit macilentus, sed jocundus facie." The view which the biographers give—that he looked stout, and was thin—that he was rigorous in diet, yet seemed to fare sumptuously—is something almost docetic, and with this agrees a story of a miracle, told by Hoveden. One day, as he was dining with Pope Alexander, one who knew his custom of living on bread and water, although dainties were served up to him, placed on the table a cup of water. The Pope tasted it, and found it excellent wine; whereupon, saying "I thought this was water," he set it before the Archbishop; and immediately it became water again! Hoved., 298.

[b] Grim, i. 57; Herb., vii. 214.

[c] Gervase, 1400.

the hagiologists. It is said that he was wont to lock himself up in an oratory, where he employed his time in exercises which might be guessed at from his loud and frequent groans; that he used to stand for hours chilling himself in a stream; that instead of occupying the bed which was prepared for him, "with clean and costly coverings, as was meet for an archbishop," he spent much of the night in prayer, and then used to rouse his chaplain Robert of Merton, and submit himself to him for discipline;[a] that when the chaplain returned to his couch, weary with exertion and unable to flog any longer, the saint tore his own flesh with his nails, until at length, in a state of exhaustion, he lay down on the bare floor, and, with a stone for his pillow, yielded himself to a short slumber, which the galling cilice and the gnawings of his multitudinous vermin rendered a pain and an additional weariness rather than a refreshment.[b]

That he soon fell ill, is certain; and then, it is said, he was haunted by visions of malignant cardinals bent on plucking out his eyes, of savage men cutting off his tonsured crown, and other such terrible phantasms.[c] Herbert, who does not mention any other cause of his illness than the unwholesome diet, tells us that he himself discovered this cause with some difficulty, and that, in obedience to his remonstrances, the Archbishop re-

[a] Robert was sworn to keep this secret until after his master's death. Grim, i. 63.

[b] Grim, i. 55, 62-3; Garnier, 102-3. These details are in part given in connexion with his residence at Sens, but are, no doubt, to be equally understood of his stay at Pontigny.

[c] Grim, i. 58; Garnier, 94.

turned to his Canterbury practice of placing his mortification rather in the scantiness than in the plainness of his food,[a]—eating (we may suppose) his morsel of pheasant and drinking his sip of wine with abstinence, while the brethren of Stephen Harding and Bernard might be gluttonous over their beech leaves and their bran.[b] Although, however, the Archbishop's personal habits were thus severe, his general style of living was such that his friend the Bishop of Poitiers thought it necessary to urge on him repeatedly a reduction of his establishment. "Your wisdom," he says, in one of his letters, "ought to know that no one will think the less of you if, in conformity to your circumstances and in condescension to the religious house which entertains you, you content yourself with a moderate number both of horses and of men, such as your necessities require."[c]

Much of his time was now given to study,[d] in which his chief associates were Herbert of Bosham and a learned canonist of Piacenza named Lombard, who was afterwards Archbishop of Benevento.[e] Herbert tells us that

[a] vii. 215-6.

[b] Alan. Altissiod. in Vita Bernardi, 18 (Patrol. clxxxv.).

[c] S. T. C., vi. 250 (cf. ib. 255); Froude, 570. See Appendix XXIII.

[d] Fitzstephen tells us that during his exile he caused copies of many rare books to be executed in French libraries, for the enrichment of that of Canterbury, i. 244.

[e] This person has been confounded with Herbert of Bosham, in consequence of a mistake in the Quadrilogus (p. 157), and the error runs through many works, down to Mr. Froude's (p. 116). It is corrected by Dr. Giles in the Preface to S. T. C., vol. viii., before seeing which I had myself detected it. (See British Magazine, xxx. 51.) Mr. Morris has adopted another error, that of identifying him with Humbert, afterwards Pope Urban III. (p. 199.) (Comp. Nos. 2 and 19 in the 'Catalogus Eruditorum,' S. T. C., vii. 362-7.)

he occupied himself especially with the Psalter and the Epistles, "as being two spiritual eyes, the mystical and the moral: the one perfectly teaching ethics, and the other contemplation." [a] But the main direction of his reading was such as his wisest friend, John of Salisbury, could not regard without fear for the effects which it might be expected to produce on the Archbishop's peculiar temper. "Laws and canons," he wrote, "are indeed useful; but, believe me, these are not what will now be needed—

'Non hoc ista sibi tempus spectacula poscit.'

Virg. Æn. vi. 37.

For in truth they do not so much excite devotion as curiosity. . . . Who ever rises pricked in heart from the reading of laws, or even of canons? I would rather that you should ruminate on the Psalms, and should peruse St. Gregory's books of 'Morals,' than that you should philosophise after the manner of schoolmen. You would do better to confer on moral subjects with some spiritual man, by whose example you may be kindled, than to pry into and discuss the contentious points of secular learning. God knoweth with what intention, with what devotion, I suggest these things. You will take them as you please." [b] The study of

[a] "Theoriam," Herb., vii. 196, 218.

[b] Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 138 (written about the beginning of February, 1165). Dr. Lingard seems to agree in thinking that the Archbishop's studies had an unfavourable effect on him, and quotes this letter (ii. 148), but wrongly refers it to the time of his residence at Sens,—not without a motive, as we shall see hereafter. Mr. Turner, after citing the passage given in the text, adds, "Becket excommunicated this bishop" (i. 258); and Lord Campbell, who (as his manner is) bor-

ecclesiastical law as it then was—"developed" by forgery, ignorance of antiquity, and the usurpations of the clergy, which had been advancing for centuries, —and lately reduced to method by Gratian, in accordance with the principles of the False Decretals and with the highest hierarchical pretensions—was especially fitted to bring out the defects of Becket's character, by filling his mind with exaggerated notions. And a tutor who was "Lombard by nation as well as by name"[a] was likely, from republican as well as from ecclesiastical feeling, to give especial prominence to whatever might lead to the depreciation of the royal power; while the Archbishop's rigid manner of life would arm him with a stern determination to carry out his ideas of duty, without abating in any point of what he conceived to be his dignities and the rights of the Church.

About this time the correspondence becomes very copious and important. Unhappily, however, the editors have done little for it; nay, the late editor appears to have done all that was in his power to prevent the possibility of reading it with ease or pleasure, and even to throw impediments in the way of understanding it. Alan of Tewkesbury, indeed, in making his collection, attempted "with labour and study," as Herbert says, to

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rows the quotation from Mr. Turner without acknowledgment, says, still more pointedly, that John "was excommunicated *for his pains*," *i. e.* for writing the letter (i. 86). This misstatement is very injurious to Becket, who, if we may judge by the freedom with which John continued to admonish him, would seem to have taken the expostulation in good part. He excommunicated Joscelin, *Bishop of Salisbury*, and *John* (of Oxford), *Dean of Salisbury*; but *John of Salisbury* was his steady adherent, and was not a bishop until after Becket's death.

[a] Herb., vii. 362.

digest the letters in chronological order;[a] but a glance at Mr. Froude's re-arranged list will show that, as might have been expected, the good monk's success was very imperfect; and hence the old edition, in which Alan is implicitly followed, can by no means be relied on as a guide to the dates or relative position of the letters. But if Alan be unsatisfactory, what is to be said of Dr. Giles? It really seems as if this editor were animated by a malignant desire to worry and baffle his readers—at once to multiply their toil and to mar the results of it. He divides his four volumes of correspondence into two pairs—placing Becket's letters[b] at the beginning of the first, and those of Foliot at the beginning of the second; excluding the letters of John of Salisbury[c] and Arnulf, which are published in other volumes of his 'Patres Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ;' and distributing the epistles of other writers between the portions which bear the names of Becket and Foliot respectively. These arrangements would, of themselves, be enough to make considerable hunting necessary in any attempt to read the correspondence with understanding—more especially as many epistles addressed to Becket are annexed, not to his letters, but to those of Foliot, so that a letter and the reply to it may be more than three

[a] See p. 6.

[b] As Lord Campbell (i. 99) gives Becket credit for all the merits of the letters which pass under his name, we may mention that Herbert speaks of them as "quas vel ipsemet scripsit, vel *aliqui de eruditis suis*, de ipsius mandato, sub ejus nomine" (vii. 234). Some of the letters which are given in Dr. Giles's 8th volume, as written by Herbert in the Archbishop's name, were probably rejected drafts.

[c] Dr. Giles's edition of John is worthy to keep company with his 'S. Thomas,' except that it is yet more carelessly printed.

volumes apart from each other, while many pieces which are essential to the completeness of the Becket correspondence must be sought in the separate works of John and Arnulf. But the difficulty of finding our way is strangely increased by the internal order of the classes; for this is regulated, in the case of the letters from Becket and Foliot, by the rank of the receivers; in the others, by the rank of the writers. The clergy take precedence, and after the most insignificant of these come emperors, kings, and queens, from whom the scale descends by due gradations to the rest of the laity. For this, indeed, a precedent had been given by a late voluminous baronet, who published the letters of his correspondents in their strict heraldic order. But in the voluminous baronet's case such a disposition had a motive, as he was thus enabled to parade in the most imposing style the greatness of the personages whom he had drawn into writing to him; whereas in the present case it is no less without an object than it is absurd and vexatious. Dr. Giles, it is true, professes to have consulted the taste of some possible students. "It was thought," he says, "that readers might like to see how many letters were written by the different authors; for which reason the arrangement of all the subordinate writers has been made with a reference to their dignity."[a] But, without venturing to deny the existence of any such statistical virtuosi, we must think it unreasonable that to their very eccentric tastes the editor has sacrificed the convenience, and much more than the convenience, of all who wish to

[a] S. T. C., iii. pref. ix.

read for the sake of historical information. And so utterly indifferent is Dr. Giles to any purposes of utility, that he has not even taken the trouble to put into their proper order the letters addressed to the same person by Becket or Foliot, or those of the same writer in the rest of the correspondence.

There is, indeed, Mr. Froude's table to guide us about the old edition, and Dr. Giles has furnished another, which (*not* to speak of its frequent incorrectness) is so meagre as to be practically useless; so that the laborious reader may, if he will, pick out his way, after some fashion, through the four octavos of Becket and Foliot, the three volumes of John and Arnulf, and the corpulent little quarto, by the help of two lists which do not agree with each other—while many of the letters do not appear in either list;* but we need not say how different this painful and groping process is from that of reading smoothly onwards in a collection digested by an intelligent and careful editor, according to the order of dates. In neither of the editions is there a single note to assist the reader, nor has Dr. Giles even condescended to supply an index; while as to care of text, accuracy of printing, and such like matters, both the old and the new editions are as choice specimens as could readily be found of the method forcibly described by Mr. Carlyle in his 'Cromwell'—"editing, as you edit waggon-loads

* Moreover, Dr. Giles sometimes repeats the same letter in two places, thus:—

Thom. 320 = Foliot, 430.
„ 321 = „ 433.
Thom. 322 = Fol. 428.
„ 323 = „ 432.
„ 168 = Joh. Sar. 151.
Fol. 197 = part of Fol. 292.

of rubbish, by turning the waggon upside-down." The only publication in which as yet any part of the correspondence can be read with comfort is the sixteenth volume of the 'Recueil des Historiens de la France,' where Dom Brial has bestowed his skill and labour on so much of it as he deemed suitable for a collection of French history;[a] but unhappily this is only a small part of the large and valuable mass which still demands the attention of some competent and conscientious scholar.[b]

If the reader should be afraid to embark on the great and almost trackless ocean of the correspondence, he may gain some idea of it from Mr. Froude's volume, in which many of the letters are translated with spirit, if not always with accuracy.[c] We cannot say that, as a whole, it gives a favourable idea of the time. There is abundance of violence, falsehood, and insincerity; mean

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[a] See p. 209 of the volume in question.

[b] The Abbé Migne has reprinted Dr. Giles's publications in his 'Patrologia,' but apparently without any other improvement than the correction of some of the grossest misprints. That even this, however, is something, may appear from the following specimen. In one of Becket's letters, where William of Pavia is spoken of, the old edition has merely "declinabimus judicium" (326), where Dr. Giles gives us "Sed vobis ut vobis voraciter **Dull**, ipsius in eternum declinabimus judicium" (iii. 131). M. Migne's reading is—"Sed *nos* ut vobis veraciter *dicimus*," &c. (exc. 513). I had myself, before seeing this, conjectured the same amendment, except that perhaps we ought to read *dico*, as being nearer in form to the word which Dr. Giles has printed in black letter. Such transitions from the singular to the plural are not uncommon: thus, in S. T. C., iii. 189, we find "scrib*imus*....confund*amus* ....opto;" and in St. Bernard, Ep. 100, "hortand*us* vobis et obsecrand*us* esse*tis*;" Ep. 307, "Super statu corporis mei cognovi *vos* esse sollicit*um*."

[c] I have generally based my extracts on Mr. Froude's version, making the necessary corrections.

selfishness and artifice, trying to veil themselves under lofty professions and language; cant, too evidently known by those who used it to be nothing better than cant; strange tossing to and fro of Scripture perverted by allegory and misapplication. On the part of the Pope there is temporizing and much which must be called duplicity; the cardinals and other high dignitaries appear corrupt and crafty; Becket is arrogant, intemperate, and querulous; Henry at once violent and slippery; Louis weakly hypocritical; Foliot smooth, politic, and tricky. The most vehement enemies of Rome might enrich their abuse of the Mediæval Church from the language and imputations which her eminent members lavish on each other. She appears distracted by schism and faction, corrupted and degraded by a multiplicity of evils, pitiably subjected to the variations of temporal affairs, and attempting to assert herself against the world, not by leavening it with a higher and purer element, but by setting up pretensions unfounded, mischievous, and of a rival worldliness.

The best letters of the whole cycle are those of John of Salisbury. This eminent man had in his youth been a pupil of Abelard,[a] and perhaps may have derived from that teacher something of the independent spirit which appears throughout his writings.[b] At a later time he had been secretary to Archbishop Theobald, in whose name many of his earlier letters are written, and towards the end of that patron's life he had been in some trouble with the King, partly in consequence of Arnulf's machi-

[a] Joh. Sarisb. Metalog., ii. 10, 17; iii. init.

[b] Tosti, Storia di Abelardo, 198, Nap. 1851.

nations.[a] Unlike most of those with whom he is associated in the correspondence, he is free from cant, and writes with apparent honesty; he is genial, learned, and sensible. Although a strenuous adherent of Becket, he is by no means blind to his faults, or sparing in reproof of them;[b] while his ill opinion of the plausible Bishop of London finds vent in a variety of amusing ways. John had been banished or compelled to withdraw from England about the time of the Council of Westminster;[c] and, until he was followed by his master into France, had been indefatigably employed as his agent in that country. It was now in his power to return to England, on condition of swearing that he had not acted against the King—an oath which he believed that he might safely take; but he had reason to suspect that it might be unfairly interpreted, and the Pope advised him on this account to decline the terms. Nor would he consent to make his peace by abandoning the Archbishop, although he declared that he had stood by him only when justice and moderation were on his side, and that, whenever Becket had appeared to exceed the bounds of right, he had firmly "withstood him to the face."[d] He therefore remained an inmate of the abbey of St. Rémi, at Rheims, which was then under the headship of Peter of

[a] Joh. Sar., Epp. 96, 112, 115, 121.

[b] "Novit cordium inspector, et verb[or]um judex et operum, quod sæpius et asperius quam aliquis mortalium corripuerim dominum archiepiscopum de his, in quibus ab initio dominum regem et suos zelo quodam inconsultius visus est ad amaritudinem provocasse, cum pro loco, et tempore, et personis, multa fuerint dispensanda" (Ep. 141).

[c] See Appendix XXIII.

[d] Joh. Sarisb., Epp. 141-2, 163-4.

La Celle, one of the most learned men of the age, and long after the successor of John in the bishopric of Chartres.[a]

In Lent, 1165, Henry crossed from England into Normandy, where he received an embassy from Frederick Barbarossa, headed by Reginald, archbishop-elect of Cologne and chancellor of Italy.[b] The ostensible object of this mission was to ask one of the King's daughters in marriage for the Emperor's son, and another for his kinsman, Henry the Lion, of Saxony; but it was also connected with ecclesiastical affairs, as Alexander's late treatment of Henry suggested the hope that the King might be won to the side of the Imperialist antipope.[c] From Normandy the Germans followed the King into England, where, although received with formal honour, they were regarded with coolness on account of their connexion with the antipope; the Earl of Leicester refused to kiss the "arch-schismatic" of Cologne, and the altars on which they had celebrated mass were thrown down, or purified from the contamination of their rites.[d] On their return to Germany, however, they were accompanied by John of Oxford and Richard of Ilchester, and

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[a] Ep. 300, fin. See Peter's high estimation of John's letters, Ep. 70; (Patrol., ccii.)

[b] Rob. de Monte, A.D. 165; Pauli, 59. See Luden, Gesch. des Deutschen Volkes, xi. 633. Raumer gives a very favourable character of Reginald, Gesch. d. Hohenst., ii. 85.

[c] Raumer, ii. 192.

[d] Diceto, 539; Wendover, ii. 312. There is a letter from Reginald to the King of France, excusing himself for having been unable to wait on him, and requesting him not to abet "the schismatic Roland" (*i. e.* Alexander). Rec. des Hist., xvi. 120.

Reginald boasted that he had won to the antipapal party the King of England, who would bring with him more than fifty bishops from his wide dominions.[a] At Whitsuntide a great diet was held at Würzburg, where the Emperor exacted of his prelates an oath to support Paschal as Pope, and to renounce Alexander, with all who should be chosen to succeed him; and in this oath, according to documents issued by Frederick, and to a letter of one of Becket's agents, the English envoys joined in their master's name.[b] The truth would seem to be, that these statements represent as absolute an engagement which was only conditional, and dependent on the course which the Pope should take in the disputes between the King and the Primate;[c] but it is clear that the affair, however qualified, was discreditable to Henry and injurious to his reputation. Rotrou de Beaumont, formerly bishop of Evreux, and now archbishop of Rouen, a kinsman of the Earl of Leicester, was com-

[a] iv. 264; viii. 267.

[b] Hardouin, vi. ii. 1614-6; Rec. des Hist. xvi. 493; compare Becket Ep. iii. 9; Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 148. Dr. Lingard wrongly places these transactions in 1167 (ii. 150), and Carte in 1168. i. 609.

[c] Brial, in Rec. des Hist., l. c.; Nat. Alexander, xiv. 155; Lyttelton, ii. 417-8; Buss, 451. Dean Milman supposes that Henry went so far as to exact of his subjects an abjuration of Alexander; and that, although "William of Canterbury alone of Becket's biographers asserts this (ii. 19), it is unanswerably confirmed by Becket's letter, 38" (Lat. Christ. iii. 484). That such a fact, if real, should be omitted, not only by the biographers but by the chroniclers, is hardly conceivable. But, although William mentions it immediately after the Würzburg proceedings, the connexion which leads him to do so seems rather to be one of subject than of time; and Becket's letter is placed later, both by the old editions (i. iv. 47) and by Mr. Froude, who dates it in 1170 (p. 630). To that time I believe that William of Canterbury's statement also relates. See below, p. 229.

missioned to assure a cardinal that the King had never promised the Emperor to desert Alexander for the Anti-pope, and would make no concession to the Germans, "even if they were to labour three days at it," except in accordance with his duty to the Pope and to the King of France.[a] Henry himself wrote to the same cardinal, in explanation and vindication of his acts;[b] and John of Oxford, whose behaviour at Würzburg had given rise to the general belief, was sent to swear before Alexander that he had done nothing "against the faith of the Church and the honour and interest of the Pope."[c] The state of affairs had by this time encouraged Alexander to return to Italy: he quitted Sens in April, 1165—being accompanied by Becket as far as Bourges[d]—sailed from Maguelone in September, and, after having touched in Sicily, entered his capital on the 23rd of November.[e]

Early in 1166 Henry again passed into his continental territories, where he remained until 1170. At Angers, where he kept the festival of Easter,[f] John of Salisbury, Herbert of Bosham, and others of Becket's clerks, were admitted to an interview with him, in consequence of a request made by the French King and nobles, that they might be allowed to return to their country, or, at least, to enjoy the income of their preferments. John of

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[a] iv. 148. Comp. Foliot, v. 240.
[b] vi. 281.
[c] Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 204.
[d] Alan, 365.
[e] Jaffé, Regesta Pontificum, 703-6.
[f] We follow Mr. Froude as to the year of this interview. In the narrative of Fitzstephen it holds a later place, but with the vague date of "aliquando" (i. 264). Dr. Giles places it in 1167. ii. 121.

Salisbury, who was first called into the royal presence, was willing to swear fidelity, but refused to desert the Archbishop, or to accept such of the usages as were condemned by him and by the Pope; whereupon he was ordered to withdraw. Herbert was then summoned, and it is satisfactory to get a glimpse of the biographer, as painted by another hand than his own. "Now," said the King, "we shall see a specimen of pride." "Master Herbert," says Fitzstephen, "was tall and handsome in person, and somewhat splendidly attired, having on a tunic of green cloth of Auxerre, with a mantle of the same, hanging down, after the German fashion, from his shoulders to his ankles, and adorned with suitable appurtenances."* After having greeted the King, he took his seat; and on hearing the terms which had already been proposed to John, he answered boldly by crying up the Archbishop as the King's most faithful friend, inasmuch as he would not allow him to go wrong, and by strongly reprobating the "customs." The audacity with which he spoke provoked the King to exclaim, "Is this son of a priest to disturb my kingdom and disquiet my peace?" "It is not I that do it," answered Herbert, "but neither am I the son of a priest, as I was born before my father became a priest, nor is he the son of a King whose father was no King when he begot him." "Whosesoever son he is," said a baron, "I would give half my land that he were mine." But we cannot wonder that a King

* I must guess at the meaning of "ornatum decenter contingentibus suis," as Mr. Froude (116) omits the words.

"whose father had been no King" was provoked to indignation by Herbert's language and deportment, or that the attempt at accommodation consequently came to nothing.[a]

A negotiation which the Archbishop himself opened with the King about the same time, or perhaps somewhat earlier, had no better result. It began in the most conciliatory manner. The envoy was a Cistercian abbot, named Urban,—"a man," according to Herbert, "both in name and in deed urbane; Urban in name, urbane in reality, urbane also in speech; for none but such an one was fit to perform such an embassy." This fascinating person bore with him a letter of corresponding blandness,—"a most sweet letter, containing supplication alone, and nothing, or very little, of reproof;" for the Archbishop "had sought for words profitable, sweet, and pacific, and wrote in most gentle terms, in order that, if possible, the King's heart might thereby be softened." Henry, however, answered roughly; and Urban was again charged to convey to him a verbal message of somewhat sterner tone, with a letter "containing a little of austerity, in which the Archbishop reproved the King, but as yet in compassion and in the spirit of meekness." The King's second reply was (as might have been expected) rougher than the first; and the Archbishop, finding (says Herbert) that oil had no effect, proceeded "like a disciple of the true Samaritan" to pour in wine. A third letter

[a] Fitzst. i. 265 sqq. John of Salisbury complains that he had spent thirteen pounds and lost two horses in this fruitless journey. Ep. 168, col. 160 c.

was written, in a tone of severe rebuke and lofty ecclesiastical dignity; and for this, too, a bearer of suitable character was employed,—a monk named Gerard "the shoeless,"—tattered, mortified, of a burning zeal, and fully disposed to take advantage of the licence which was usually allowed to such personages. The last communication incensed the King to fury, and so the negotiation ended.*

And now the reader—if the story of Becket is not altogether new to him, and if his previous acquaintance with it has been derived from certain sources—may expect that we should tell him how King Henry procured the removal of the exile from Pontigny. We are sorry to keep our reader waiting; but *we* must tell things in their proper order.

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* Herb., vii. 222-3. The first letter seems to be Ep. 179; the second, Ep. 178. See Pagi in Baron. xix. 261.

CHAPTER X.

VÉZELAY.—A.D. 1166.

ALTHOUGH the Pope had returned to Rome, he was still far from feeling himself independent of persons and circumstances. Frederick Barbarossa was preparing for a great expedition into Italy, and it was inexpedient to alienate the King of England; moreover, as Alexander was ill provided with money, the English Peterpence, as to which there is some curious correspondence about this time, furnished an additional motive for endeavouring to keep well with Henry.[a] He had therefore, in June, 1165, tied up Becket from taking any steps against the King until the following Easter;[b] but that time had now arrived, and the Archbishop, fortified by a

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[a] In June, 1165, the Pope desires Foliot to collect this impost, to transmit the amount with all speed, and in the mean time to advance as much money as he can spare or borrow (iv. 96; Jaffé, 704). The Bishop replies that no Peterpence would have been forthcoming without the King's leave, and that the money shall be sent when gathered; but he takes no notice of the request as to an advance (v. 242). Alexander afterwards complains of delay: the Bishop of Exeter had reported that he had paid *his* share, and the Pope is surprised that the Bishop of London had not remitted it (iv. 101). There are three letters on the subject from Foliot to Henry (vi. 2-3, 7); from one of which it appears that the King had thoughts of appropriating the money; a step from which Foliot dissuades him, as likely to injure his interest with the Pope.

[b] Ep. Thom., 202.

commission issued on Easter-day,[a] which gave him a legatine power over all England except the province of York, prepared for vigorous action.

Threats conveyed by letter and otherwise had given Henry reason to apprehend that the extreme spiritual censures of excommunication against his person and interdict against his dominions were about to be pronounced.[b] He therefore summoned an assembly of his bishops and nobles to Chinon, and, after bitterly complaining of their slackness in aiding him against a man who was bent on "taking away alike his body and his soul,"[c] desired their advice as to the course which should be pursued. At the suggestion of the Bishop of Lisieux, it was resolved to prevent the sentence by an appeal;[d] for in the case of excommunication appeals were inadmissible *after* sentence, as the party was then

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[a] iv. 10. The date is, "Anagniæ, vii. id. Octob." But, as Jaffé observes (708), this is a blunder of a transcriber; and the letter in which the legation is announced to the English clergy (iv. 81) shows that the real date is from the Lateran, April 24 (which in 1166 was Easter day). The reason of the exception as to York was, that Roger was legate for Scotland, and that it was against the Roman practice to subject the church of one legate to another. Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 185, col. 194 D.

[b] See Epp. 168, 179; Hoveden, 284, b.

[c] He is reported to have said "quod omnes proditores erant, qui eum adhibita opera et diligentia ab unius hominis infestatione nolebant expedire." (Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 145, col. 136.) "These," says Mr. Froude, "are the very expressions which Henry uttered in 1170, and which were the immediate occasion of the Archbishop's murder." (p. 150; comp. Morris, 186.) "C'était," writes M. Michelet on *that* occasion, "la seconde fois que ces paroles *homicides* sortaient de sa bouche." (iii. 187.) There is, however, nothing murderous or suggestive of violence in the earlier speech, although the same can hardly be said of Mr. Froude's translation (which Mr. Morris adopts), "who had not zeal and *courage* enough to rid him," &c.

[d] Joh. Sarisb., l. c.

no longer a member of the Church.[a] Arnulf himself and the Bishop of Sées accordingly proceeded to Pontigny, accompanied by the Archbishop of Rouen, who professed that he went rather with a view of mediating between the parties than of aiding in the appeal. On arriving they found that Becket had received notice of their approach, and had left the abbey in order to avoid them;[b] but they published the appeal, although in a manner to which exception was afterwards taken as informal, inasmuch as the document was only read aloud, instead of being affixed to the abbey gate. Walter de l'Isle was sent from the assembly at Chinon into England, with orders to cause the ports to be watched so as to prevent the introduction of any documents from the Archbishop, and to warn the clergy against obeying any sentence which might be uttered in defiance of the appeal to Rome.[c]

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[a] Hence bishops sometimes resorted to the expedient of excommunicating persons who were likely to appeal,—a practice forbidden by the Lateran Council of 1179 (con. 6).

[b] Dr. Giles represents Herbert as saying that the Archbishop "withdrew from Pontigny purposely to prevent notice being served on him." ('Life and Letters,' i. 333.) But Herbert's real statement is considerably different:—"We knew that, on the ground of domicile, appeals might be made, although the parties appealed against might be absent, or might absent themselves; but we withdrew in order to avoid intercourse with the envoys." (vii. 233.) Herbert represents the visit of the bishops to Pontigny as having taken place *after* the excommunications,—apparently confounding the proceedings of the Norman prelates sent from Chinon with those of the English bishops on hearing what had been done at Vézelay. The correspondence is here the best guide.

[c] Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 145, col. 138, B. Brial (521) and Buss (399) connect with this a report of severe measures adopted by Henry in order to prevent the importation of letters from Becket (Thom.,

In the meanwhile the Archbishop, attended by some of his clerks, went on a pilgrimage to Soissons, where he arrived in the beginning of Rogation-week. He watched three nights before the altars of the Blessed Virgin, of St. Gregory, "the founder of the English Church," and of St. Drausius, a Bishop of Soissons in the seventh century, whose relics were supposed to give invincibility to persons about to engage in duels, and therefore, we are told, were very germane to the occasion.[a] On the morrow after Ascension-day—a festival which in this year concurred with that of St. Drausius (June 2)—he left Soissons, and on Whitsun-eve he reached the Abbey of Vézelay, on the borders of Burgundy and the Nivernois. Vézelay, now a decayed and deserted little town,[b] was in those days a place of considerable note. A religious house, founded in the valley of the Cure by Count Gerard and Bertha his wife, in the reign of Charles the Bald, had been soon after removed to the summit of a steep and lofty neighbouring hill, in consequence of the frequent attacks of infidel invaders.[c] The

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Ep. 372). But it clearly belongs to a later time. (See pp. 176, 229.) Instead of enforcing an abjuration of the Pope, as Mr. Buss supposes, Henry was now appealing to him.

[a] 'Rec. des Hist.,' iii. 609; Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 145, col. 136, where it is mentioned that his aid was sought by combatants from Burgundy and Italy, and that Robert de Montfort had resorted to him when about to do battle with Henry of Essex in 1163. Ducange identifies the shrine of St. Drausius with that spoken of by the audacious Frank who in the first crusade seated himself on the Byzantine emperor's seat—the hero of Scott's 'Robert of Paris.' (See Gibbon, v. 436, ed. Milman, 1846.)

[b] See Appendix XXIV.

[c] The 'Historia Vizeliacensis,' by Hugh of Poitiers, speaks of *Saracens* (Patrol. cxciv. 1592); but is there any other mention of these as having penetrated so far into France? Perhaps we ought to understand Northmen, from whom no

relics of St. Mary Magdalene, which it boasted,[a] attracted devotees and wealth; it was favoured with exemptions and other privileges by a succession of popes, from the great Nicolas downwards;[b] and the continual squabbles of the monks with the Bishop of Autun about jurisdiction, and with the Counts of Nevers and other neighbours about temporalities, are related in one of the liveliest among monastic chronicles.[c] At Vézelay the second crusade had been inaugurated by the irresistible eloquence of St. Bernard in 1146, when the King and

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part of the country was then safe. We have already seen that the name of Saracens was given to misbelievers in general (p. 140, note [b]).

[a] The genuineness of these, however, is contested. "They may," says Alban Butler, "be a portion of the body of St. Mary Magdalene, or of some other Mary mentioned in the Gospel." (July 22.) In 1164 a fire had broken out in the night, when a wooden image of the Blessed Virgin escaped without any injury beyond being discoloured by smoke. The workman to whom it was entrusted for repair observed some indication of an opening between the shoulders, and, on further examination, it was found to contain a quantity of very precious relics,—hairs of the Virgin, part of her dress, a bone of St. John the Baptist, fragments of our Lord's purple robe, of the clothes of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, &c. (Hugo Pictav., 1660.)

[b] For a time it had been subject to Cluny (see Bern., Epp. 150-2); but Alexander, by a letter dated at Montpellier, on his way to Italy, had lately restored it to independence, as the Cluniacs had sided with the Antipope. (Ep. 79; Patrol., cc.)

[c] This reaches to the year after that of Becket's visit; but unhappily the writer is, like a true monk, too much intent on the monastic concerns to notice the visit at all. The preaching of the crusade is mentioned only because it brought St. Bernard to act as arbitrator between the Vézelay monks and the Count of Nevers. (Patrol., cxciv. 1595.) It appears from the history that the abbot was absent at Whitsuntide, 1166, although he returned for St. Mary Magdalene's day. (ib. 1678.) The Archbishop, therefore, must have been received by the prior, Geoffrey, who was an Englishman. (1676.) Becket and the Archbishop of Lyons (Guichard, formerly abbot of Pontigny) had lately been engaged in an attempt to mediate between the abbot and the hereditary enemy, the Count of Nevers. (1672.)

Queen of France were the first to take the cross, and the saintly abbot, on finding that the stock of crusading badges was exhausted, tore up his own dress to furnish a fresh supply;[a] and here again it was that in 1190 Richard of England and Philip Augustus of France met on their way to the Holy Land.[b]

On Whitsunday[c] the Archbishop preached and celebrated mass in the great church of the abbey. In the pulpit he entered into a statement of the differences between himself and the King, of the measures which had been taken against him, and the failure of his attempts to bring Henry to a better mind. Then, with the awful forms provided by the Roman ritual, he pronounced the sentence of excommunication against John of Oxford, for his intercourse with schismatics and for his intrusion into the deanery of Salisbury;[d] and a like sentence against Richard de Luci, Ranulf de Broc, and others, for having advised measures against the good of the Church, for having invaded her property, and other such offences. He suspended Joscelin, Bishop of Salisbury, for having admitted John to the deanery of his church, on the King's nomination, without a canonical election and against the Pope's command. He anathematized six of the Constitutions of Clarendon in particular, with all who

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[a] Odo de Deogilo, Patrol. clxxxv. 1207.

[b] Bromton, 1173.

[c] See Appendix XXV.

[d] The late Dean having been advanced to the bishopric of Bayeux, the Pope had forbidden the election of a successor during the absence of some of the canons, who were in exile with the Archbishop; but the Bishop, in order to remove the King's displeasure against him, had consented to admit John as Dean. Thom. Epp. 146, 216; Fitzst., i. 258; Herb., vii. 231; Froude, 154.

should act on them; and he absolved the English bishops from their engagement to observe them. It had been his intention to extend the sentence of excommunication to the King himself; but at Rigny, a Cistercian monastery near Auxerre, where he had lodged on the night before his arrival at Vézelay, he had been informed that Henry was seriously ill. He therefore contented himself with summoning him to repent, and threatening to excommunicate him if he should persist in his courses.[a] Among the great concourse of people in whose presence these censures were uttered, there were none who were more surprised at hearing them than the clerks of the Archbishop's company; for Herbert tells us that in the many consultations which had taken place his master had given no hint of his purpose, and that he himself and his brethren had followed him from Pontigny without suspecting it.[b]

The tidings of the scene which had passed at Vézelay were speedily carried in all directions, and naturally produced a great excitement: it was supposed by many that the Archbishop intended to follow up his threats by pronouncing at the same place, on the feast of the patron St. Mary Magdalene, a sentence of excommunication against the King's person.[c]

The Archbishop forthwith despatched letters an-

[a] Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 145.

[b] vii. 230. Herbert, as has been already said in the Appendix (XXV.), dates the scene on St. Mary Magdalene's day, and mentions only the threat against the King, saying nothing of the excommunications. John of Salisbury protests that he had not advised or been privy to the excommunication, Ep. 180.

[c] iii. 196. See the end of Appendix XXV.

nouncing his late proceedings to the clergy and laity of his province, and requiring the bishops to carry out his denunciations.[a] On St. John the Baptist's day (June 24) the bishops and abbots met in London, and agreed (although it would seem not unanimously)[b] to appeal to the Pope against him—fixing on Ascension-day in the following year as the time.[c] The writers of Becket's party,[d] and those of later times who espouse his cause, exult greatly over the fact that, on this and other occasions, the King and his friends had recourse to appeals —"an expedient," says Dr. Lingard, "which had been prohibited by the Constitutions of Clarendon."[e] As, however, the utmost that was intended by the constitution in question was to prevent the practice of appealing without the King's consent,[f] the charge of inconsistency has hardly even a superficial appearance of justice.

On St. Paul's day, as the Bishop of London was officiating at the altar in his Cathedral, the Pope's letter, announcing the appointment of Becket as legate, was delivered to him by an unknown person;[g] but, although Foliot wrote to the King in apparent perplexity as to the course which he should take, he soon resolved to disre-

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[a] Epp. 73, 80.

[b] Will. Cant., ii. 20.

[c] See Foliot, Epp. 437, 470, 472, &c.

[d] E. g. Joh. Sarisb., i. 286, ed. Giles.

[e] ii. 150. Cf. Nat. Alex., xiv. 159.

[f] We have seen that Foliot explained it as meaning much less than this. See p. 98.

[g] Fol., Ep. 275. Mr. Froude, misled by the false date of the commission (see p. 182), and overlooking the *Commemoration* of St. Paul (June 30), supposes this to have been on the feast of the Apostle's conversion, Jan. 25, 1167. (190, 234.)

gard the letter and a summons which the Archbishop sent him to attend on him in the place of his exile.[a] Nor was any respect generally paid to the charge that all Christians should avoid the society of those who had been denounced at Vézelay.[b]

Letters, long, able, and bitter, were now exchanged between the Archbishop and his suffragans; among them was that remarkable "pamphlet" of Foliot, which has been often quoted in the preceding pages. The Pope, soon after, confirmed the suspension of the Bishop of Salisbury, with the other sentences pronounced at Vézelay, and ordered that all persons who were in possession of benefices belonging to the exiles should restore them and make satisfaction.[c]

Henry had for some time been endeavouring to deprive Becket of the support and hospitality which he received from the Cistercians. He was especially indignant at finding that some members of their order had conveyed letters from the Archbishop into England; and the influence of the Pope had been necessary to counteract the effect of the royal threats on the abbots of Cîteaux and Pontigny.[d] The excommunications at Vézelay provoked the King to more urgent measures;[e] and at the

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[a] Fitzst., i. 253.

[b] Joh. Sar., Ep. 180, col. 178, C. There is a curious passage as to the degree in which the excommunication is to be observed. Ib. Ep. 181, col. 180, C.

[c] Alex. ap. Thom., Epp. 209, 210-3, 239.

[d] Henric. ap. Foliot, Ep. 485; Alex., ib. 293-5; Thom. iii. 11.

[e] Many writers (among them M. Thierry, iii. 143, and M. Michelet, iii. 173) connect with the Vézelay excommunications the account given in one of the epistles, of a transport of rage into which Henry was thrown by the receipt of some unfavourable tidings. Lord Camp-

general chapter of the order, which was held at Cîteaux in the month of September, an intimation was given that, if the Archbishop were any longer harboured in any of their monasteries, the King of England would confiscate all the property of the order within his dominions. The abbot of Pontigny protested "by his orders" that a friend of God, who had been committed to their care by the Pope, must not be sacrificed for such a reason, and many other abbots are said to have thrown themselves at the feet of their chief, entreating him not to abandon their guest.[a] But more timid counsels prevailed: the Cistercians, who had already suffered expulsion from the Imperial territories for their adhesion to Alexander,[b] were not disposed to incur the threatened penalty; and the abbot of Cîteaux, with the Bishop of Pavia (who had been a Cistercian monk), and other eminent members of the order, proceeded to Pontigny for the purpose of stating to the Archbishop the difficulties which their entertainment of him had brought on them. The King's letter was read over to him, and he was requested to choose his own course. The meaning of this, and the looks by which the words were accompanied, were not to be mistaken; the order would not turn him out, but would feel itself greatly relieved by his voluntary departure.

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bell, who makes no mention of the excommunications, says that it was caused by "receiving a despatch disclosing a new machination of the Archbishop" (i. 87). If his Lordship had really consulted "Ep. i, 44" (Thom. Ep. 378, ed. Giles), which he affects to quote, he would have seen that the occasion had nothing to do with Becket.

[a] Garnier, 96.

[b] Chron. Clarævall. A.D. 1166, Patrol. clxxxv.

Becket at once declared that he would not be a burden to the friends who had so long sheltered him in his distress: he would go wherever he might find a place to lay his head, in confidence that God, who feeds the fowls of the air and clothes the lilies of the field, would provide for him and the companions of his exile. The abbot and brethren of Pontigny, who had been glad to have so distinguished an inmate in their house, entreated him, even with tears, to remain with them[a]—a request which would, perhaps, have been more meritorious if *they* had been among the victims on whom Henry's vengeance would have fallen.

The Roman Breviary represents the King's threat to the Cistercians as having followed immediately on his learning the fact that they had afforded a refuge to his enemy. Most of the old biographers say nothing of any provocation given by the Archbishop, and the Breviary of Salisbury observes a like silence. The Quadrilogue, although Herbert is the principal author from whom it is derived, omits his account of the scene at Vézelay; and a late biographer, although he relates the fact, yet thinks it too insignificant to deserve any mention in his table of contents, or in the heading of his chapter, which is simply "The Pope returns to Italy." But Dr. Lingard's manner of dealing with the matter is the most remarkable. This very learned and able writer, after stating that the Archbishop retired to Pontigny, devotes four pages to the affairs of Wales and Brittany, and then returns to the subject of Becket by telling us that

[a] Herb., vii. 236-7; Gervase, 1400.

"amidst these transactions the eyes of the King were still fixed on the exile at Pontigny;" that, "by a refinement of vengeance," he banished the Archbishop's kindred, and took other measures against him which we have already mentioned; that "still Henry's resentment was implacable;" that he caused the exile to be dismissed by the Cistercians; that Becket then found an asylum at Sens, and there took to a kind of reading from which his friends, "dreading the consequences, endeavoured to divert his attention;" and that "at last, urged by the cries of the sufferers" and by "the violence of Henry," he proceeded to utter his excommunications.* This arrangement of the details is, indeed, fitted to produce a very different impression from that which would be made by a relation of them in their real order. The King's measures are here strung together as the expressions of a restless and "insatiable" malignity, which, with "eyes still fixed on the exile of Pontigny," goes on from one cruelty to another without any fresh provocation. In truth, however, all these proceedings took place at two points of time and no more; the banishment of the kindred, the seizure of effects, &c., on the return of the envoys from the Papal Court at Christmas, 1164, before Henry even knew that the fugitive Archbishop was at Pontigny; the dislodging of the exiles after the excommunication of the King's adherents, and the solemn public threat of a like censure

* ii. 143, 147-8. In Dr. Lingard's finally corrected edition, for which he had the advantage of being able to consult the new materials published by Dr. Giles, these passages remain as before.

against himself. It was at Pontigny that Becket inflamed his mind by the studies against which John of Salisbury remonstrated; it was from Pontigny that he set forth to utter his denunciations at Vézelay; and it was in consequence of his doings at Vézelay that the King procured his removal from Pontigny.

Why, we may ask, did the old biographers, for the most part, omit the fact of the excommunications? It was nothing private, obscure, or uncertain; in their eyes it certainly cannot have been unimportant. By suppressing it, the King of England's conduct is made to appear unprovoked and altogether monstrous; whereas, in reality, Becket's most intimate friends and most zealous partisans were shocked by the violence of the provocation. We are unable to see any other conclusion than that the biographers and the compiler of the Quadrilogue wished to falsify the history; and we leave the charitable ingenuity of the reader to discover some creditable way of accounting for the series of transpositions by which Dr. Lingard has so curiously changed its character.

No one will maintain that the conduct of Henry in dislodging the Archbishop was magnanimous or admirable, even if judged by a standard which is not the highest. But neither was it very atrocious or inexcusable, as appears strongly from the circumstance that those who wish to represent it in this light have found themselves obliged to suppress the offence which prompted it. We would allow Dr. Lingard and the rest to inveigh against the King at will, if the fact were that he kept his "eyes still fixed on" a harmless exile,

whose placid hours were divided between devotion, study, labours in the hayfield, and deeds of love; if it were true that, out of mere "insatiable" malice, without any new incitement, he heaped affliction after affliction on this meek recluse, and at last forced the brotherhood which had sheltered him to turn him out of doors. But when the case is stated in its real form and order; when it is considered that Becket had put the crown to a long course of the most vexatious conduct by pronouncing the highest censures of the Church on his Sovereign's advisers, by menacing the King himself with excommunication and his dominions with an interdict, by anathematizing his laws and releasing his subjects from their pledge to observe them; when we consider that the violence of these acts alienated from the Primate some of the English bishops who before were favourable to him, and provoked the Archbishop of Rouen ("that most firm pillar of the Church," as John of Salisbury styles him) to declare that "all his actions proceeded either from pride or passion;"[a] when we consider that Becket himself was so well aware of the extraordinary nature of his act that he did not venture to consult his most confidential friends on it, out of fear that their dissuasions might overpower his wishes—we cannot very greatly wonder that Henry should have

[a] Joh. Sarisb., i. 279, ed. Giles. John's advice to his master on this is significant—"You must meet this opinion by a display of moderation, as well in your deeds and words as in your bearing and habit; yet all this avails but little with God *unless it proceed from the secret chamber of your conscience.*" Rotrou's saying is also mentioned by Nicolas of Rouen, S. T. C., iv. 195.

taken the readiest means which occurred to him of retaliating in such measure as he could. To abstain from retaliation would have been the part of a character very different from a Norman King of England—from a prince or noble of that age; most assuredly it would have been the part of one very different from Becket himself. And if there seem to be something unworthy in the manner of the retaliation, even this may be in some degree palliated when we remember the circumstances of the case—that the Archbishop had fled from England, and that therefore it might very naturally be an object with Henry to make him feel that (as is somewhere said in the correspondence) "the King had long hands;" that even in a foreign territory, and under the protection of a foreign prince, a fugitive ecclesiastic was not altogether beyond his Sovereign's reach.

Having resolved on leaving Pontigny, the Archbishop held a consultation with his clerks as to his future course. Herbert of Bosham reminded him that the King of France, at their first interview, had offered to support him in any city of his dominions which he might choose, and the Archbishop, after some hesitation, was persuaded to take advantage of the offer. Herbert was therefore despatched to state the circumstances to the King, who, on hearing his story, broke forth into severe reflections on the Cistercians: "O religion! religion! whither art thou gone? Lo, those whom we supposed to be dead to the world are afraid of the world's threats; and for the perishable and fleeting things which they profess to have despised for God's sake, they cast out God's cause and him who is an exile for it!" Then,

turning to the envoy, "Greet the Archbishop in my name," he said, "and tell him that, although the world and those who seem dead to the world desert him, yet I will not. Let him name to us any place in our dominions where he would wish to settle, and he shall find it ready to receive him."[a] A man whose worldly interest it was to support Becket might well be righteously indignant against those who followed *their* interest by getting rid of him.[b] The Archbishop fixed on the Benedictine monastery of St. Columba, near the city of Sens, and Louis sent a nobleman with three hundred mounted followers to escort him.[c]

It was about Martinmas[d] that the Archbishop left Pontigny, amid the lamentations of the monks, who crowded about him, entreating his blessing, and could not be restrained, either by the abbot's commands or by the duties of the choir, from following him far beyond the precincts, in order to catch a last look of him, and to contend for his last benediction. The abbot accompanied him on his way, and, observing that he was sad (whereas, says Herbert, on a journey he was usually very free in talk, and a most cheerful companion), urged

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[a] Herb., vii. 238-241.

[b] The King's support was far from steady. John of Salisbury speaks as if it were cooling very early in the day (i. 194, ed. Giles), and, as to its generosity, we find from John of Poitiers, about the same time, that Louis wished to provide for the Archbishop out of the revenues of some vacant see, "so as to keep his own funds unimpaired." S. T. C., vi. 250.

[c] Ludov. ad Thom. ap. Foliot, Ep. 506. Garnier says that the King himself rode to Pontigny, and, after thanking the monks for their hospitality to Becket, announced his intention of receiving him at Sens (98). Diceto represents him as having personally conducted the Archbishop, 547.

[d] Gervase, 1401.

him to tell the cause of his sorrow. After repeated entreaties, the Archbishop, under a promise of secrecy, said that he had been troubled by a vision during the night. He had found himself in a church, pleading his cause in the presence of the Roman conclave,—the Pope hearing him with favour, while the Cardinals, in the interest of King Henry, opposed him; when four knights entered, hurried him away, and cut off his tonsured crown.[a] The abbot is said to have observed with a smile, "How should one who eats and drinks as you do be a martyr? The cup of wine which you drink accords ill with the cup of martyrdom."[b] And the Archbishop replied, "I own that I indulge too much in the pleasures of the body, yet, unworthy as I am, He who justifieth the ungodly hath vouchsafed to reveal this mystery to me."[c] The vision is said to have been imparted, a few

[a] Herb., vii. 244. We have already given a similar story from Grim, who places it earlier, and also tells us that one day at mass the Archbishop had a vision, in which it was said to him—"Thomas, Thomas, thou shalt glorify Me by thy death" (i. 64). Comp. Fitzst., i. 251, and Garnier, 100-1, who relates that the Archbishop had visions of judgments on Foliot and Hilary of Chichester; Foliot's flesh rotting and dropping to pieces. "The prophecy is fulfilled as to the Bishop of Chichester," says Garnier; "let him of London beware." Garnier also mentions some miracles done by Becket at Pontigny (94-5). A later legend represents the Archbishop as having prophesied that one of his successors (Edmund, see above, p. 163) would recompense the monastery for its hospitality to him (S. T. C., ii. 300).

[b] "Quid esculento, temulento, et martyri?

'Non bene conveniunt, nec in una sede morantur'

calix vini quem potas, et calix martyrii."

[c] Will. Cant. ii. 18. Notwithstanding all that is said as to Becket's concealment of his austerities, and although the abbot's speech may be nothing more than a token of monastic narrowness, unable to conceive any sanctity or abstinence except after the very fashion of his own order, the accusation and the reply must strike us with some surprise.

days later, and under the same obligation to secrecy, to the abbot of Val-luisant, another Cistercian community; and both the depositaries of the secret are said to have faithfully kept it until after it had been verified by the event.[a] This is not exactly in the manner of Scripture prophecy, where, although the meaning might not appear until after the fulfilment, there was never any concealment of the words.

Becket had scrupled to exchange his monastic solitude for the neighbourhood of a populous city; but to some of his companions, at least, the removal would seem to have been very welcome. Herbert is profuse in his admiration of the fertile soil and mild climate of Sens, and in his praises of the inhabitants for their politeness, their cultivation, hospitality, and sociable qualities.[b] The Archbishop, Hugh, received him with honour, and after the death of this prelate, in February, 1168,[c] Becket found in his successor, William, one of his warmest supporters;[d] while all classes joined in doing honour to the guests whom the King had commended to them. The abbey of St. Columba, a virgin martyr of Sens, who is said to have suffered in the reign of the Emperor Aurelian,[e] stands at some distance without the city, and, although little of the ancient buildings now remains, is still a religious house, being occupied by a sisterhood of nuns. On the south of it, the river Yonne

[a] Herb. vii. 244; Bened. Petrib. 66.

[b] vii. 242, 246.

[c] Gallia Christiana, xii. 50.

[d] Fitzst., i. 252. See William's letters, Epp. Thom., 324, *sqq.* William was brother-in-law of King Louis, and nephew of Stephen of England. In 1176 he was translated to Rheims.

[e] See Butler's Lives of the Saints, Dec. 31.

CHASUBLE PRESERVED AT SENS

From De Caumont's 'Abécédaire d'Archéologie.'

flows under a steep and lofty bank, which perhaps already in Becket's time may have been clothed, as it now is, with vineyards. All around on the other sides is a wide and fertile plain, bounded on the north by a distant range of hills; and in the middle ground rises the city, with its cathedral, coeval with the very time of the Archbishop's residence.[a] At Sens the memory of St. Thomas of Canterbury is still preserved by an altar at which he is supposed to have said mass, and by a chasuble, mitre, albe, maniple, and other vestments which are among the treasures of the cathedral.[b] But a more important memorial of his residence at Sens is to be found in his own metropolitical city; for doubtless it was at the suggestion of his companions in exile that when, four years after his death, the choir of Canterbury was destroyed by fire, an artist of Sens was chosen for the task of rebuilding it;[c] and to this is to be traced the remarkable similarity in style and ornament which exists between the French cathedral and that in which for centuries "St. Thomas the Martyr" was enshrined as the most prominent object of devotion.

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[a] The Chronicle of Sens mentions its consecration by Pope Alexander in 1164, but says nothing of Becket's connexion with Sens. (Rec. des Hist. xii. 287-9.) M. Viollet le Duc (t. i. p. 349) says that the exact dates of the building are not known, but that under Archbishop Hugh de Toucy, A.D. 1144-68, the works were in full activity. See also Willis, Architect. Hist. of Canterbury, 35.

[b] See Appendix XXVI.

[c] See Gervas. De Combustione et Repar. Cant. Eccl. in Twysden, 1290 *sqq.*; and Willis's History of the Cathedral.

CHAPTER XI.

COMMISSIONS.—A.D. 1167-9.

THE negotiations which took place between Becket's removal to Sens and his final reconciliation with the King were very complicated, and the difficulty of following these is vastly increased by the disorder of the mass of letters which relates to them; nor is it probable that any full detail of their intricacies would be found attractive by readers in general. All, therefore, that shall here be attempted is to give some account of the most prominent and important transactions.

The announcement of the excommunications at Vézelay greatly distressed the Pope, who, although, as we have seen, he confirmed Becket's proceedings, had strong political and pecuniary reasons for avoiding any breach with Henry. John of Oxford on appearing at Rome as an envoy from the King was favourably received, notwithstanding his excommunication and notwithstanding the clamorous entreaties of Becket that no hearing might be granted to a perjured schismatic who "bore the mark of the beast on his forehead."[a] He placed his deanery of Salisbury in the Pope's hands; his excuses for his intrusion were accepted, and he was formally established in the office. With the facility

[a] iii. 9.

which procured for him from John of Salisbury the epithet of "that famous swearer,"[a] he swore whatever he supposed to be for his master's interest—promising, it is said, even that some of the Constitutions should be abandoned.[b] By the use of bribery to the officers of the Roman Chancery, he obtained copies of all Becket's letters to the papal court;[c] and he returned home in a triumphant mood—"exalting himself above all that is called God or that is worshipped," as John of Salisbury describes him. As he went through France, he boasted that he had obtained an exemption from the jurisdiction of Becket, and of all but the Pope;[d] "if we may believe rumours, and the bragging of our opponents," writes John of Salisbury, "it was rather the King who was afraid or ashamed to ask more than Rome that was ashamed to endure."[e] Henry declared that "now he had the Pope and Cardinals in his purse;" that he was now like his grandfather, who, within his own dominions, had been "King, papal legate, patriarch, and whatever he wished."[f] Louis was seriously alarmed by the reports which reached him; and some of the English bishops, who were on the point of going abroad in obedience to a citation from the Primate, returned to their sees, on being told by John of Oxford and the King

[a] Joh. Sarisb., Epp. 198, 201, 203, 293, &c.

[b] iii. 352.

[c] vi. 256.

[d] S. T. C. iii. 31, 215; Lombard, ib., iv. 208.

[e] Ep. 202. Comp. his remonstrance with the Pope, Ep. 198, and in Herb. Epp. 24-5 (S. T. C. viii.), remonstrances addressed to Alexander in the names of Henry Count of Troyes, and of the precentor of Sens. The defence of the Pope's conduct in this matter by Baronius (1167. 66) is curious.

[f] Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 239.

that the Pope would warrant their disregard of it.[a] The King's cousin, Roger of Worcester, alone obeyed the summons, and consequently remained in exile for some years.[b]

By means of John and other emissaries Henry had obtained a legatine commission, consisting of two cardinals, William of Pavia and Otho,[c] whose appointment was announced by the Pope to Becket with the assurance that he might thoroughly trust them.[d] William, however, a man of smooth and plausible speech, had before been noted as an opponent of the Archbishop, and devoted to Henry's interest;[e] and William of Canterbury tells us that both cardinals were greedy and corrupt, "and, but that they were my lord Pope's legates, were worthy rather of relegation than of delegation."[f] "William," writes John of Salisbury, "looks to the King's wealth, not to the fear of God or the honour of the Church. The other is a man of good repute, yet a Roman and a Cardinal."[g] "To speak my mind," he says in another letter, "the one of them fears man too much, and the other does not reverence God."[h] So long as this commission was in force, the Archbishop's power of excommunicating, and the sentences already pronounced by him, were suspended; and it was granted

[a] Thom. Ep. 355; Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 239.

[b] Fitzst., i. 255; Garnier, 94, ed. Hippeau.

[c] Alex. ad Henr., ap. Thom., Ep. 309 (Dec. 20, 1166), Ep. 299 (Jan. 1167). Of the latter a copy was privily taken for Becket. See Jaffé, 712-3. Here again Baronius is amusing (1167, 63 *sqq.*).

[d] Ap. Thom. Ep. 215 (Jan. 1167).

[e] Will. Cant., ii. 22-3; Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 224. See p. 151; and comp. Joh. Sarisb., Epp. 59, 201, 231. For a notice of William see Goussainville, in Pet. Bles., Ep. 48.

[f] S. T. C., ii. 22.

[g] Ep. 202. [h] Ep. 229.

also that, in the matter of excommunication, the King should be exempted from all authority but that of the Pope himself.

The proceedings of the cardinals took up the greater part of the year 1167. William announced their arrival in France to Becket in a somewhat magisterial style;[a] and the Archbishop wrote two answers, which, one after the other, were set aside at the instance of John of Salisbury. "Indeed," says John, of the first, "I do not think that even the Pope's running varlet ought to be spoken to in this way. If the Cardinal send his own letter and yours to the Pope, they will seem a justification of the King's cause, and a proof of your contumacy, under your own hand."[b] Becket threw about protestations and denunciations on all sides. He excommunicated all who, in obedience to the King, were concerned in watching the English ports, or in hindering the carrying of appeals to Rome, and it was in vain that John of Salisbury endeavoured to restrain him from issuing anathemas against all who intercepted the revenues of his clerks.[c] In his letters to the Pope and others he used a strange vehemence of language: "How," he asks, "can any one confide in the Roman Church, since it has thus deserted and stripped us, when standing up for it, and contending for it even unto blood?"[d] He endeavoured to procure the recall

[a] iii. 241. "Litteras non penitus pompositatis gloria carentes nobis destinavit," says Becket to Cardinal Hyacinth (afterwards Pope Cœlestine III.). Ib. 131.

[b] Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 220. His objections to the second draft are in Ep. 232.

[c] Joh., Ep. 184, cols. 190-1.

[d] iii. 216.

of the cardinals,[a] and declared that he would never admit William of Pavia as an arbiter, even if he should be excommunicated for his refusal.[b] He repeatedly alludes to a rumour that the Cardinal had been bribed by a promise of succeeding to the see of Canterbury, if a vacancy could be effected, and on the strength of this he charges William, even in a letter addressed to himself, with "thirsting for his blood." But, although the Pope was supposed to favour the scheme of a translation, and Becket himself had formerly been inclined to it,[c] he now protested that he would rather die than be torn from his church.[d] He states that the success of John of Oxford had induced many of the French nobles to give up the cause of the Church as hopeless, and to dismiss the exiles whom they had entertained; some of these, he adds, had already perished from cold and hunger.[e]

In the summer of 1167 important events took place in Italy. The Emperor had advanced to Rome, where he was crowned by the Anti-Pope Paschal on the 30th of July, while the Pope was driven to escape from the city in disguise, and to seek refuge at Benevento. But a great pestilence which broke out among the Germans speedily changed the face of affairs. Five-and-twenty thousand of Frederick's followers died,—among them the indefatigable Reginald of Cologne,

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[a] iii. 118.

[b] iii. 130, 146, 149, 217, 241-2; Will. Cant., ii. 22, &c. It is on this occasion that Dr. Giles makes him protest the "voracious dullness" which has been mentioned, p. 172.

[c] Herb., vii. 224.

[d] iii. 153, 217, 219. Cf. John Sarisb., Ep. 219.

[e] iii. 217.

with many others of the Emperor's most important adherents, and Frederick himself was compelled to a precipitate and ignominious retreat. In this calamity Becket, well acquainted as he was with the policy of Rome, discerned the prospect of advantage to himself, and, immediately on receiving the news, he addressed a letter to the Pope. "Never," he said, "since the world began, has God's power been more manifestly displayed, if we rightly consider the event, than in this judgment on the new Sennacherib." Again he complains of William of Pavia as having fulfilled his worst forebodings by his "presumption and insolence;" and he entreats the Pope to take a bolder course—to draw forth the sword of St. Peter for vengeance on those who had done wrong to Christ and his people.[a] These entreaties, or the events on which they were grounded, were not without some effect in his favour, although the Pope still acted with caution.

After having visited King Henry at Caen, the legates had an interview near Gisors with the Archbishop, who, according to Herbert, had been warned against the smooth speeches of William, "which yet were very swords," by a vision in which poison was offered to him in a golden cup.[b] The cardinals began

Nov. 18.

[a] Ep. 6. Cf. Joh. Sar., Epp. 201, 218, 220.

[b] vii. 248. Garnier, who confounds the meeting near Gisors with that at Montmirail (see below), says that the vision was on the night before that meeting. The Archbishop did not like the look of the wine, when lo! two great spiders rose up from the bottom. Next morning he related and expounded the vision to his

by dwelling on the labours and fatigues which they had lately endured, on the power of Henry and his former kindness to Becket, on the King's complaints that the Archbishop had stirred up Louis and the Count of Flanders against him, on the necessity of a moderate and conciliatory spirit in the dangerous circumstances of the time. They asked the Archbishop whether he would observe the customs which his predecessors had observed in the reigns of earlier Kings: to which he replied, that he was ready to yield the King any obedience consistent with God's honour, the liberty and temporal rights of the Church, and his own credit; but that he would never consent to a profession which had not been exacted of his predecessors, or pledge himself to constitutions which had been condemned by the Pope as opposed to the law of God and destructive of ecclesiastical liberty. The Constitutions were read aloud, and he asked, "Are these things to be observed?" whereupon the cardinals, apparently at a loss for a reply, passed on to another point. He was then asked whether he would consent to return to his see without any stipulation as to the customs: by this expedient, it was said, he might make sure of an implied withdrawal of the Constitutions, and at the same time might conciliate the King by not insisting on a formal abrogation of them. He replied that his silence would rather be regarded as an assent; and, in answer to a question whether he would abide the judgment of the legates, he said that he could not do so.

clerks,—"The cup is the King's fair offers; the troubled wine his deceits: the two great spiders are the cardinals" (105).

unless the property of the Church were previously restored in full.[a]

On the following day some envoys of the King of France appeared before the cardinals, and swore, in their master's name, that Becket had never given him any counsel but such as tended to peace with England and to the honour of both the Kings; and, after mutual benedictions, the Archbishop and the cardinals separated.[b]

A week later a conference was held by the legates with Henry and some English prelates at Argentan. Foliot, as the leader of his party, inveighed bitterly against the Primate, whom he sarcastically spoke of as supposing that debts were washed away by his promotion, as sins were by baptism. The King, he said, would probably forsake the Roman Church if the bishops were to obey the Archbishop's mandates, and therefore, as the time of their original appeal had already expired, he declared that he and his brethren appealed until Martinmas in the following year against any fresh proceedings on the part of the Primate.[c] The King was disgusted at finding that he had been deceived as to the powers of the legates—a more limited commission having been substituted, at the instance of Becket and the French bishops, for that which had been promised to John of Oxford, so that they had no authority to go into England

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[a] Thom., Ep. 7; Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 227; Fol., Ep. 404; S. T. C., ii. 248; Herb., vii. 250-1.

[b] Joh. Sar., Ep. 227; S. T. C., iv. 276; Gervase, 1402. "They ought," says John, "to have believed the King on his oath, but that, measuring others by their own morality, they trust neither God nor man where the hope of deceitful money shines on them" (Ep. 231).

[c] Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 228; S. T. C., iv. 271.

or to arbitrate unless a reconciliation should have been before effected.[a] For a time he treated them with studied disrespect; but, at taking leave, he requested them with tears to befriend him at the court of Rome. William, it is said, was infected by the contagion of crying, while Otho was hardly able to refrain from laughing; and they returned to Italy without having effected anything towards a reconciliation.[b] Some of the excommunicates had already been absolved by Geoffrey (of Monmouth), Bishop of St. David's, as the Pope had allowed their absolution if in danger of death, and they pleaded that this condition was satisfied by their being summoned to the Welsh wars ;[c] and the cardinals had granted the Bishops of Norwich and Winchester authority to absolve the rest. The Archbishop, however, took especial care to publish a papal letter, by which it was declared that all those who should continue to detain the property of the Church must again fall under excommunication.[d]

The Archbishop deliberated with his clerks whether the fresh appeal of the English bishops should be respected: and the decision was, that, as it was made not for the protection of right, but for the maintenance of wrong (*i. e.* as it was not for but against Becket's cause),

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[a] S. T. C., iii. 18; iv. 128, 268-272; Fol., Epp. 173, 408, 438, 441, 471, 490. Herbert says that the King had sworn that the Archbishop should not in his reign return to England (vii. 251). If so, it must have been a hasty outbreak.

[b] S. T. C., iv. 272. John of Salisbury reports further interviews between the King and the legates severally (Ep. 261). At a later time, after the reconciliation, Becket writes to William, thanking him for his good offices (Ep. 71).

[c] Joh. Sarisb., Epp. 228, 240; Diceto, 539.

[d] Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 228.

the inferior judge was not bound to regard it.[a] He then proceeded to excommunicate for disregard of his citations and for other offences the Bishop of London[b] and his own archdeacon, Ridel (whom he sometimes styles "archidia*bol*us noster");[c] and with these he included a multitude of clerks and laymen, who were concerned in invading the property of the see of Canterbury or the benefices of the exiled clergy. These censures lighted thickly among the persons immediately around the King. "Almost every one about the Court," says Herbert, "was excommunicated, either by name or as having communion, which they were neither able nor at liberty to avoid, with those who were expressly named; so that in the King's chapel there was hardly one who could offer him the kiss of peace at mass, but such as were excommunicated either by name or implicitly."[d] And the biographer goes on to give a lively description of the stir which arose in consequence: "The King and his party send and send again with all haste. Messengers upon messengers, and them fresh messengers, run, hurry, speed, to report these doings to the apostolic Pontiff.

[a] iii. 184; Herb., vii. 252.

[b] Ep. 133; Froude, 255. There are letters by William and Otho in favour of Foliot. Fol., Epp. 396, 403.

[c] *e. g.* iii. 52. For this he had the example of Innocent II.,—"Si quisquam laicus, aviditate rerum ecclesiasticarum, hoc sibi nomen vindicat, non decet archidiaconus, sed archidiabolus, appellari." (Ep. li. Patrol. clxxix.) There is a significant passage in a letter from John of Salisbury to the Archbishop—"Si Londoniensis episcopus et vester archidiaconus recipiunt a Domino quod merentur, sibi imputent; vos tamen videte an sententia vestra, si citatio non præcesserit, robur sit habitura. Nam utinam, sicut de merito, ita de jure et facto sortiri possit effectum." Ep. 220.

[d] vii. 253.

We on our part sent also; our pious King of the French, too, to whose Court we in a manner now belonged, since we were his guests, sent in our behalf, repeatedly declaring that whosoever should touch us touched the apple of his eye. . . . So now the threshold of the apostles was daily worn both by our friends and by our adversaries; they run up and down, they hurry, they speed, both the one party and the other."[a] The Pope was in a sore perplexity. He was not disposed to offend Henry, and was much annoyed by the Archbishop's hasty and headstrong proceedings; yet he was not willing to abandon him.[b] And if the "gilded and silvered words" of the English King's emissaries weighed more than the "shabby, ink-written words" of the exiles, yet, on the other hand, there was the influence of Louis, who zealously espoused the Archbishop's cause, and prayed that the excommunications might be sustained; and other potentates are said to have concurred in the request.[c] As, therefore, it would have been awkward to quarrel with either party, the Pope judged it most expedient to persuade them to make up their quarrels; and with this view he wrote letters which raised up a host of peace-makers—influential personages, both lay and clerical, busily endeavouring to mediate.

Henry, by means of Clarembald of St. Augustine's, and Reginald, archdeacon of Salisbury,[d] obtained a sus-

[a] vii. 253-4.
[b] Ib. 256.
[c] Ib. 254.
[d] Reginald was son of the bishop, Joscelin. He afterwards became Bishop of Bath and Wells, and eventually Archbishop of Canterbury. Becket abuses him violently, Ep. 93.

pension of the Archbishop from dealing forth censures until a reconciliation should have been effected.[a] The Pope seems to have granted this, in August, 1167, without any limitation of time, in the full belief that the reconciliation would not be long delayed;[b] we must not therefore tax him with any remarkably bad faith for announcing to the Archbishop in May, 1168, that the suspension was to last only until the beginning of the following Lent.[c] To this limitation of it he was probably induced, not only by the progress of the Emperor's misfortunes, but by the reports which had reached him as to the indignation excited in Louis and the French bishops by Henry's triumphant displays of the document which he had procured, and by the triumph with which the English King's envoys on their return through France had boasted of their master's influence at the Papal Court.[d]

As months went on without any approach to a reconciliation, the Pope appointed a fresh commission, consisting of Simon, prior of Mont-Dieu; Engelbert, prior of Val St. Pierre; and Bernard de la Coudre[e] (or de Corilo), a monk of the order of Grammont.[f] Bernard, according to a letter of his colleagues, was bound by the customs of his order to abstain from the use of pen and ink, so

[a] Fitzst., 359; Brial, 313. John of Salisbury says that Henry had threatened to throw the legates into prison unless the Archbishop's power of interdicting were recalled. ii. 166, ed. Giles.

[b] Thom., Ep. 305.

[c] Ib. 222.

[d] vi. 210, 221; vii. 220.

[e] "De la Coldre," Garnier, 106. (*Coudre*, a hazel.)

[f] This order had received special favours from Henry, who in return enjoyed its prayers (see Bern. in Brial, 470, 638-9; Buss, 550), so that the Archbishop of Rheims supposed the commissioner to be in the King's interest (Joh. Sar., Ep. 285). See Brial, 322, &c.

that he might not write even to the Pope himself;[a] but perhaps his genius may have been all the more active in practical matters. These commissioners were charged with two letters to Henry, containing respectively exhortations to peace and threats of punishment,—the second to be delivered if the first should be found ineffectual.[b] There was now a general wish for an accommodation. Henry had spoken of taking the cross and going to Jerusalem, if peace could be established with the Archbishop;[c] and he was at least heartily desirous of peace, although the opposite party tax him with insincerity in his offer of concessions for the sake of it,—such as that appeals to Rome should be freely allowed, and that clerks should not be brought before the secular courts.[d] The French King was eager to act as a mediator; and the banished clergy, weary of their exile, were willing to meet any conciliatory measures.[e] The King, who in the preceding year had again been in communication with the anti-papal party,[f]—who had lately declared that he was ready to ally himself with the Musulmans, and even to embrace "the errors of Nou-

[a] "In ordine suo inhibitum est" (iv. 177). "Fratrum Grandimontensium consuetudo non est ut scribant alicui" (ib. 179). There is, however, no such prohibition in the rule or other documents of the order, as printed by Martene, De Antiquis Eccl. Ritibus, t. iv.—the nearest approach being c. 24:—"Præcipimus ut de rebus vobis datis vel dandis nusquam scriptum causa placitandi faciatis, nec etiam placitare præsumatis;" and there are letters of Bernard himself in the Rec. des Hist., xvi. 750-2, &c., or in Patrol., cciv.

[b] iv. 113.

[c] Herb., vii. 258.

[d] Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 242.

[e] See *e. g.* Joh. Sarisb., i. 278, ed. Giles.

[f] S. T. C., vi. 279; Joh. Sar., Ep. 142.

reddin" (the great enemy of the Christians in the Holy Land) rather than admit Thomas as Archbishop,[a] —now changed his line of action, and endeavoured to obtain the Pope's consent to the Archbishop's deposition or translation by offering to subsidize Alexander's allies, the anti-Imperialist cities of Lombardy, to pay the Pope's heavy debts, to give him a large sum of money, and to purchase for him the interest of the venal Romans, who still kept him an exile from his city.[b] But, although the expedient of a translation was supported by many persons of influence, Becket steadily professed that he would not give up the rights of his church; that he would rather die (a profession which, although doubtless sincere, is somewhat too often repeated) than consent to desert her cause by a resignation of his see.

On the Epiphany, 1169, the Kings of France and England held a conference on political affairs at Montmirail, near Chartres, where Louis induced Becket to be present. The Papal commissioners were also there, and have left their report of the proceedings.[c] Herbert of Bosham represents himself as engaged in advising his master to beware of repeating the weakness which he had shown at Clarendon, when the Archbishop, before he could answer, was summoned into the presence of the Kings.[d] He fell on his knees before Henry, who immediately raised him up. Becket then lamented the differences which had arisen, charging all the evil of them on his own insufficiency, and concluded by saying

[a] Joh., Ep. 244.
[b] Ib., Ep. 288; Thom., Ep. 4.
[c] Thom., Ep. 338.
[d] vii. 261.

that he threw himself wholly on the King's mercy, "saving the honour of God." This reservation took by surprise many of those who had advised him to concession, and believed that they had prevailed with him; and, although the Archbishop professed to have substituted "salvo honore Dei" for "salvo ordine nostro" from a wish to avoid the repetition of the offensive formula, the King would not admit any distinction between the two, but burst into a violent fit of passion. To allow such a phrase, he said, would seem as if he himself had no regard for God's honour.[a] After having reproached Becket with his pride, ingratitude, and disloyalty, "See," he cried to the King of France, "how foolishly and proudly this man has deserted his church, not driven out by me, but secretly running off by night. He would persuade you that he is a champion for the Church, and by this pretext has deceived people both many and great. But I have always allowed and wished, and I still do so, that he should hold and govern his church as freely as any of his predecessors." He asked Becket whether he would yield him that amount of obedience which his five predecessors since the Conquest —some of them saints and workers of miracles—had shown to the least of former Kings,[b] or that which by

[a] Joh. Sarisb., ii. 199.

[b] M. Thierry characterises this proposal as "evidently ironical, and containing at least as much of mental reservation as Becket could have put into the clause 'saving God's honour'" (iii. 151). There is, however, a very clear difference between the two; nor does the idea of irony appear to have entered into the mind of any who were present (see, *e. g.*, Joh. Sar., ii. 199, ed. Giles). William and Otho had made a similar proposal (iii. 20; sup. p. 206).

the evidence of a hundred men from England and a hundred from Normandy and Anjou should appear to have been formerly customary;[a] and he professed himself willing to leave the matter to be decided by the bishops of France. All who were present declared that the King could not be expected to humble himself further. "My Lord Archbishop," said Louis, "do you seek to be more than a saint?" and the Pope's commissioners, with many princes and nobles, entreated the Archbishop to submit. But he still remained inflexible. No such promise, he said, had ever been required from any of his predecessors, except the blessed Anselm,[b] who had twice gone into banishment rather than consent. It was true that former Archbishops had borne with many abuses; but, as they had corrected much evil, so it was his duty to strive against that which still remained.[c] All were disgusted at this pertinacity.[d] The Kings left the meeting without saluting him; the French nobles loudly reproached him as a felon and a traitor; the Papal commissioners cried out against his impracticable pride and selfwill; and his own clerks strongly remonstrated with him for having caused the ruin of all their hopes.[e] As they were riding away, the horse of one of the clerks, Henry of Houghton, stumbled; "Go on," said Henry, loud enough for his master to hear, "saving the honour of

[a] Joh. Sarisb., ii. 168, ed. Giles; Garnier, 108.

[b] See Eadmer, ap. Anselm, ed. Gerberon, 67.

[c] Thom., iii. 44; Alan, i. 366; Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 285; Herb., vii. 259-265; Garnier, 107,8; Gervase, 1400.

[d] Herb., vii. 266; Garnier, 109.

God and of holy Church and my order;" and the Archbishop allowed the taunt to pass unnoticed.[a] "Brother," said his confidential friend the Bishop of Poitiers, "take heed lest the Church be destroyed by thee." "By me," was the reply, "with God's blessing it shall never be destroyed."[b] Herbert compares the advisers who thronged around the Archbishop at the conference to executioners, and him to their victim; and on this occasion applies to him the text, "I have trodden the winepress alone."[c]

The evening passed without the visit or the message with which Louis on such occasions was accustomed to favour the Archbishop; and for three days, while the exiles travelled in the King's train, he held no communication with them, and discontinued their usual allowance of provisions, so that the Archbishop was indebted for his very maintenance, "as a beggar," to the charity of the Bishop of Poitiers and the Archbishop of Sens.[d] The only circumstance which occurred to cheer him was the enthusiasm of the people of Chartres, who, as he passed through the streets of their city, flocked to look at him, as the champion "who would not for the sake of Kings deny his God, nor be silent as to His honour."[e]

The exiles had returned to Sens, and were engaged in consultation as to their prospects and their future course.

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[a] Fitzst., i. 262.

[b] Herb., vii. 257. Comp. Ep. 144 to this Bishop. Garnier says that Henry, regretting, on reflection, the loss of the late opportunity, sent him at midnight to Becket, with a request that the negotiation might be resumed; but that the Archbishop refused. 110.

[c] vii. 265-6.

[d] Alan, i. 367; Herbert, 276 (who, however, do not quite agree).

[e] Herb., vii. 276.

The Archbishop alone wore a cheerful look; he told his followers that, as he alone was the object of attack, he would relieve them from the dangers connected with their attachment to him—with one companion, and on foot, he would seek a refuge in Burgundy, where the sight of his affliction might procure him sustenance until better days should come.[a] At this critical time a messenger appeared from the King of France, and desired the Archbishop's attendance at Court. "It is to drive us out of the kingdom," said one of the clerks. "Thou art no prophet, neither a prophet's son,"[b] replied Becket; "do not prophesy unlucky things." The King's troubled look, as Becket entered into his presence, appeared to justify the foreboding which had been expressed; but after some minutes of silence, to the astonishment of all who witnessed the scene, Louis threw himself on his knees before the Archbishop, acknowledging with tears that he alone had been in the right at Montmirail, and beseeching absolution for having taken part against him. The absolution was formally bestowed, and Becket returned to Sens with the assurance that from that time he might count on the King as a steady and unfailing supporter. This revolution was caused by the receipt of tidings that Henry had violated the late treaty by some barbarous acts of severity against certain leading men of Poitou, who had lately been in rebellion against him, and for whom Louis had supposed himself to have secured forgiveness. Louis was now prepared

[a] Alan, i. 368; Herb., vii. 276. Alan places this at a hostelry on the way.

[b] Amos, vii. 14.

for a breach with the English King; and he treated the exiles with greater honour and familiarity than before.[a]

The commissioner Bernard of Grammont is said to have also repented of the course which he had taken in the conference of Montmirail, and to have expressed to Herbert of Bosham his wish that one of his feet had been cut off rather than that the Archbishop should have yielded to his solicitations.[b] He and his colleagues, finding that their attempts to effect a reconciliation were vain, now proceeded, agreeably to their instructions, to deliver to Henry the second letter with which they had been charged, containing a threat of heavy ecclesiastical censure against the King, unless he should speedily repent.[c]

During the negotiations with Simon and his colleagues the proceedings against the Bishop of London—the "standardbearer" of the opposite party, the "incentor of all malice," as Becket styled him[d]—had been allowed to rest. But at the beginning of Lent, 1169,[e] the suspension of the Archbishop expired, and he declared an intention of inflicting the severest sentences of the Church on his contumacious opponents. In order to ward off the blow, Foliot put in a fresh appeal, which was to last until the Feast of the Purification in the

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[a] Alan, i. 369; Herb., 277; Joh. Sarisb., ii. 197, ed. Giles; Gervase, 1406. Sismondi says that the rebellion, although professedly grounded on political causes, was really excited by the preaching of Becket's partisans. Hist. des Français, v. 462.

[b] Herb., vii. 278.

[c] Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 185.

[d] S. T. C., iii. 115, 125, 202.

[e] Dr. Pauli (74), from whom I have not ventured to differ without a re-examination of the facts, places the following proceedings in 1168.

following year,[a] and he induced the Bishop of Salisbury, who was in the same danger with himself, to unite with him in this step. Without, however, regarding the appeal, Becket, on Palm Sunday, pronounced at Clairvaux the sentence of excommunication against the two bishops and other persons who had offended him.[b] John of Salisbury had warned his patron to beware of vitiating his censures by informality;[c] and, although the Archbishop considered that the circumstances of the case were sufficient to dispense with the ordinary procedure,[d] Foliot knew how to turn the forms of law to his account with all the ingenuity of a Bentley. On hearing of the Primate's sentence he assembled a synod, at which he stated his objections: that he had appealed to the Pope; that he had received no citation to appear before his metropolitan; and that, although a rumour of the excommunication had reached him, he did not hold himself bound to defer to it until he should receive a formal intimation.[e] All possible care was taken to keep such documents at a distance, but this vigilance was not long effectual. On Ascension Day, when the service of high mass in St. Paul's Cathedral had advanced as far as the Offertory, a young Frenchman, named Berengar, approached the officiating priest, and, kneeling, held out a packet as his oblation. The priest received this, and Berengar, seizing his hand,

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[a] Fol., Ep. 175.

[b] Fitzst., i. 255; Anon. Lamb., ii. 107.

[c] See p. 209, note [c].

[d] See the "Causa inter Gant. Archiep. et Ep. London.," in S. T. C., ii. 211, *seqq.*, where the arguments on both sides are given.

[e] Fitzst., i. 256, 259; Fol., Ep. 268.

held it firmly closed over the packet, while he charged him, in the names of God, the Pope, and the Primate, to open it at once, to deliver the contents to the Bishop and the Dean (who were then absent), and to refrain in the mean time from celebrating mass. The priest, on opening the cover, found, not, as might have been expected, a gift for the benefit of the Church, but a letter from the Primate to the Bishop, announcing the sentence which had been passed on him, with another to the Dean and clergy of the cathedral, charging them to avoid the communion of their diocesan in consequence.[a] The messenger then proclaimed the excommunication to the people, and, by the aid of one of the Archbishop's friends, who threw a cloak over him, escaped among the crowd which at that stage of the service usually left the cathedral. The clergy then debated whether the mass should be carried further. The celebrant and others were for desisting; but, on the Archdeacon's asking whether a priest would refrain from eating if a messenger from the Archbishop were to forbid him, the rites were resumed.[b] In the mean time Berengar, notwithstanding an eager search which was carried on for him by the King's officers, succeeded in escaping from London and made his way to York, where he published the excommunication in a similar manner.[c]

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[a] Epp. 134, 137.

[b] "Celebrata est missa, non lectis litteris, nisi clanculum, ut audivi," (iii. 226). *Clanculum* relates to the reading of the letters, not, as Dr. Pauli supposes (75), to the performance of the mass.

[c] iv. 225-26; Fitzst. i. 256-8. There are many such instances in Church History of the delivery of dangerous papers: *e.g.* Evagrius, iii. 34; Liberatus, in Patrol., lviii. 1028; Gesta Treverorum, ib. cliv. 1313.

On the second day after this scene, the Bishop of London, having returned from his manor of Stebonheth (or Stepney), assembled his clergy and read the Archbishop's letters before them. He protested against the sentence on many and various grounds, citing the Old Testament and the New, Fathers and Councils, the Civil Law and the False Decretals. He insisted on his appeal and on the informality of pronouncing sentence without citation and trial—an informality, he said, which could not be excused by the difficulty of serving a citation on him, since the Archbishop had found means of conveying the letters of excommunication, which was a far more difficult and dangerous matter. He declared that he owed no obedience to the see of Canterbury, inasmuch as he had not at his translation taken any oath to the Archbishop, and because, moreover, London was of right an independent archiepiscopal see, as it had been until the ancient British Christianity was overwhelmed by a heathen invasion. It is said by Becket and his partisans that the Bishop even went so far as to boast that he would get the Primacy transferred from Canterbury to London.[a] By the advice of his friends, however, he resolved to yield a formal obedience to the sentence, and refrained from taking part in the offices of the Church.[b] The London clergy, in general, joined with the Bishop in

[a] ii. 223; iii. 125, 203, 339; iv. 225; vi. 236; Fitzst., i. 256. John of Salisbury here amuses himself with the archflamen theory (see p. 94). "Fortasse vir prudens et religiosus Jovis cultum instaurare disponit, ut, si alio modo archiepiscopari non potest, archiflaminis saltem nomen et titulum assequatur" (ii. 212, ed. Giles). Becket in vain tried to stir up the Canterbury monks against the Bishop of London's pretensions.

[b] Fitzst., i. 258; Diceto, 550.

appealing against his excommunication, but the members of his own order excused themselves from supporting him.[a] The King wrote letters in his behalf to the Pope, as did also the Bishop of Lisieux, the Abbots of Westminster, Romsey, and Reading, with other ecclesiastics, representing his merits and vindicating his conduct,[b] and, having obtained the royal licence, he set out for Rome, in order to sue for a reversal of his sentence; while Becket, on his part, endeavoured to create a rival interest by procuring letters from the French bishops, in which the Pope was requested to sanction the sentence against "the author and instigator of schism."[c]

On the same day on which the letters of excommunication were delivered in St. Paul's, Becket himself was busy elsewhere in adding to the list of the excommunicate. The Archdeacon of Canterbury ("archidiabolus noster") was again denounced on this occasion.[d]

The Pope was much annoyed on hearing of Foliot's excommunication. Before the tidings reached him, he had (chiefly by way of staving off the importunities of opposite parties[e]) appointed Gratian, a subdeacon, nephew of Pope Eugenius III., and Vivian, Archdeacon of Orvieto,[f] a learned canonist, to go into France as his commissioners;[g] and he now sent Becket a letter, expressive of regret that he had resorted to excom-

March 10.

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[a] iv. 227.

[b] Epp. 337, 341-3, 348, 350, 353, 363, 450, 477, &c. Arnulf., Ep. 55.

[c] Fol. Epp. 443, 447, 461, &c.

[d] In Epp. 36, 56, Becket begs two cardinals, if Foliot and Ridel should find their way to the Papal Court, to treat them "as limbs of anti-Christ, who already worketh his mystery of iniquity in them."

[e] Herb., vii. 279.

[f] See Morris, 257 and note.

[g] iv. 21; Herb., vii. 280.

munication while negotiations were in progress, and advising that further proceedings should be deferred until the result of the commission were known.[a]

Early in August, the envoys arrived in France; for, says Herbert, as they were less encumbered with dignity and with baggage than the Cardinals, they were able to travel more expeditiously.[b] With Becket's party, Gratian was the favourite. He is described by Herbert as "truly gracious, according to his name, and, moreover, more vivacious than Vivian;"[c] nay, the biographer considers him a very prodigy, inasmuch as "although a Roman, yet he 'went not after gold;'"[d] while the Archbishop speaks of him as the only Roman ecclesiastic whom Henry found incorruptible, or whose exertions were of any service in the case.[e] These commissioners, it is said, were bound by oath not to accept any present, even so much as their expenses, from the King, unless they should succeed in establishing an accommodation.[f] After having seen the King of France, and having waited some time at Sens, as Henry was then in Gascony, the legates, on hearing of his return, proceeded into Normandy,[g] and had several conferences with him, most of which ended in some outbreak of passion on the King's part. At the first consultation Henry rushed out of the room, complaining bitterly that the Pope had never paid any regard to him, and swearing "By God's eyes, I will take

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[a] iii. 22.

[b] vii. 280.

[c] "Sed sicut penes regem Gratianus gratiam non invenit," says Diceto, "sic nec penes archiepiscopum aliqua vivit in memoria Vivianus," 550.

[d] vii. 281-3 (Ecclesiasticus, xxxi. 8).

[e] iii. 108, 112, 252.

[f] Joh. Sar., Ep. 292.

[g] iv. 217.

another way." "Do not threaten, my Lord," said Gratian calmly; "for we are of a Court which is accustomed to give commands to emperors and kings." At another meeting Henry exclaimed "Do what you like, for I don't care one egg for you or your excommunications;" and mounted his horse with the intention of riding away. At the entreaties of his bishops, who represented the impropriety of such a speech, he remained, but in the course of the further conversation he repeatedly burst forth into fresh explosions of anger. The bishops implored him to consider the extent of the powers with which the legates were invested. "I know it," he exclaimed; "I know that they will interdict my lands. But if I can take one of the strongest castles every day, shall I not be able to take one clerk who interdicts my lands?"[a] There were offers of conciliation from both sides: it was agreed that such of the excommunicates as were present should be absolved at once, and that Vivian should go into England for the absolution of the others; and at length the long quarrel appeared to be on the point of settlement. But in the arrangement of terms, the old differences broke out afresh, as Henry insisted on the words "saving the dignity of the kingdom,"[b] while Becket and the commissioners were equally earnest for the reservation of "the dignity of the Church;" and neither party would give way.[c] It was

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[a] Thom., Ep. 383.

[b] The word *dignities* had now been substituted for *customs* (iii. 155); but John of Salisbury strongly declares the identity of what was meant. (Ep. 291.)

[c] Vivian represents himself, his colleague, and the Archbishop as willing to admit the King's phrase, provided that the King would

evident that in these phrases the whole grounds of the original quarrel were involved; and after a further attempt to treat with the King by means of Peter, Archdeacon of Pavia, who was driven from the Court with threats of personal violence,[a] Gratian, in despair of an accommodation, returned to Rome, declaring himself (it is said) to be utterly disgusted at Henry's faithless and untrustworthy character.[b]

Vivian, who was supposed to have substantial reasons for being more favourable to the King, remained behind, and entered into fresh negotiations, for which the Archbishop was but little disposed to thank him.[c] The commissioner and King Louis, however, persuaded Becket to

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admit the other, and thus throws the odium of preventing an accommodation on Henry. (Ap. Thom., Ep. 360.) But Becket himself says that Gratian persuaded the King to admit the ecclesiastical reservation, which his "grammarians" had told him that he might allow without giving up the power of restraining the clergy from appealing to the Pope, or obeying papal citations (Ep. 138); and if so, the obstacle must have been on the Archbishop's side. The Archbishop of Rouen (who is commended by Becket's informant as having at the conference studied to please God and the Pope, while Arnulf of Lisieux strove to flatter Henry, iv. 281) tells the Pope that he and others had in vain laboured to obtain the admission of the royal dignities. "Doluimus plurimum," he adds, "præsertim quum constet nobis pro certo, quod in observatione regiæ dignitatis libertas aut dignitas ecclesiastica nullatenus prægravetur. Siquidem dignitas ecclesiastica regiam provehit potius quam admit dignitatem, et regalis dignitas ecclesiasticam potius conservare quam tollere consuevit libertatem; etenim quasi quibusdam sibi invicem complexibus dignitas ecclesiastica et regalis occurrunt, quum nec reges sine ecclesia nec ecclesia pacem sine protectione regia consequatur." (iv. 150-1; comp. a letter from the Bishop of Nevers to the Pope, S. T. C., vi. 227; Diceto, 551.)

[a] S. T. C., iv. 58, 220; Gervas., 1407.

[b] Herb., vii. 283.

[c] Ep. 173.

attend a conference which took place on the Octave of St. Martin at Montmartre near Paris, the scene of the legendary martyrdom of St. Denys, to whose neighbouring abbey the King of England had gone on a pilgrimage.[a] As the Archbishop approached the little chapel which marked the spot of the martyrdom, a messenger appeared, who urged him to make haste, as the Kings were already arrived; but he replied that it was not becoming for a priest to hurry in his motions.[b] Vivian, with the Archbishop of Rouen, the Bishop of Séez, and others, presented to Henry, on the part of the English Primate, a petition for the recovery of the royal favour, and for the restoration of himself and the other exiles to their full rights and preferments.[c] The petition was graciously received; and in the conversation which followed there was a studious avoidance of offensive topics on either side. The King offered to submit the questions between himself and the Archbishop to his suzerain king Louis, to the French nobles or bishops, or to the learned men of the University of Paris; to which the Archbishop replied that he did not decline such judgment, but that he would rather settle matters amicably than engage in any litigation.[d] As to the lands which were claimed for the Church, the King was willing to concede; but there was some difference with regard to the revenues and moveable property

Nov. 18.

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[a] iii. 154; Fitzst., i. 263.

[b] Herb., vii. 285.

[c] The terms of this (iv. 220) are general; whereas Becket speaks of himself as having enumerated the possessions which were wrongfully detained. (Ep. 92.)

[d] iii. 255.

detained from the exiles, which Becket rated at 30,000 marks.[a] The Archbishop insisted on his rights and his necessities—that he and his adherents required money, both for their immediate expenses, and for reparation of the dilapidations which had taken place on their property; while Henry urged that he had not expelled the Archbishop, and could not fairly be expected to restore property which he had found vacant, and in some cases had granted away. But the French King said that a question of money must not be allowed to prevent a reconciliation; and Henry promised that compensation should be made, as soon as the proper amount could be ascertained by valuation.[b] All seemed to be arranged, when Becket requested that the King would give him the kiss of peace, as a security for his good faith. Henry replied that he would gladly do so, but for an oath which he had formerly taken; and on this the Archbishop hesitated. While he was in expectation of a further answer, the Kings rode off towards Mantes—Henry, as they went along, furiously cursing Becket for all the trouble which he had caused; and the Archbishop retired to lodge in the Temple at Paris. He states in his letters, that, although the King had been studiously plausible in his behaviour, his insincerity and duplicity had throughout been evident to all who under-

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[a] In mentioning a compromise which he had proposed on this point, Becket shows himself sensible of the value of a standing grievance. "Tam Romanæ quam Anglicanæ ecclesiæ expedit ut [rex] aliquid habeat penes se, quod ei tumultus et seditiones molienti recte possit opponi." (iii. 221.) Mr. Froude omits this. (p. 461.)

[b] Herb., vii. 287; Diceto, 551.

stood his ways.[a] In conversation with some of his followers, who regretted that the question as to the kiss of peace had been allowed to put an end to so promising a negotiation, the Archbishop told them that his conduct in the matter was in obedience to instructions from the Pope;[b] and he reports the King of France as having said that he would not for his weight in gold advise him to return to England without the kiss, after Henry's late treachery towards the insurgents of Poitou.[c] One of the clerks, in allusion to the name of Montmartre, expressed a belief that nothing but the Archbishop's martyrdom would restore peace to the Church. "Would that she might be delivered," exclaimed Becket, "even if it were with my blood!"[d]

Vivian, after the failure of his endeavours at mediation, declared himself strongly against the King, whom he is said to have characterised as the most mendacious man that he had ever seen or heard of; and Henry, by way of revenge, gave out that the envoy's former favour had been gained by bribery.[e]

The envoys, on beginning to act, had consented that the Archbishop of Rouen should absolve the Archdeacon of Canterbury and others, on condition that their excommunication was again to be in force unless peace were concluded by Michaelmas; and,

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[a] iii. 255-6; cf. Viv. ap. Thom., Ep. 361; Herb., vii. 289-290; viii. 231; Maurit. Paris. episc. ap. Fol., Ep. 460; Garnier, 111.

[b] Herb., vii. 291-7.

[c] iii. 256.

[d] vii. 290.

[e] Viv. ap. Thom., Epp. 361-2; iii. 256. Vivian seems to have now acquired some credit with the Archbishop. See Ep. 13.

as the negotiations had failed, Gratian, when about to return to Rome, had written to Ridel and the rest, desiring them to consider themselves as still excommunicate.[a] The Archbishop now again felt himself at liberty to deal out his censures. He wrote to the Archbishop of Rouen and other Norman clergy, announcing that he had once more excommunicated Ridel, Nigel de Sackville, and others;[b] and he threatened that unless full reparation were made for all wrongs before the ensuing feast of the Purification, he would lay the realm of England under an interdict, and, if necessary, would excommunicate the King. The Archbishop of Sens had set out for the papal Court, in company with Gratian, for the purpose of urging the Pope to extreme measures;[c] and Henry, on hearing what was intended, despatched Ridel into England, with a commission to exact from persons of every age an abjuration of the Archbishop and the Pope. All who should pay heed to any interdict were to be banished, with all their relations, and their property was to be confiscated. Clergy who held benefices in England, and were out of the kingdom, were to be summoned to return before St. Hilary's day (Jan. 13); or, in case of failure, they were to be banished for life and to lose all their property. All appeals to the Pope or to the Archbishop, and all obedience to their mandates, were for-

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[a] iv. 219; vi. 291.

[b] Epp. 105, 108.

[c] There are three letters of Herbert to the Archbishop of Sens at this time, chiefly against Foliot. (Epp. 5-7. S. T. C., viii.) The King's kiss, he says, was providentially refused, as a sign that *his* peace and *our* righteousness cannot agree (p. 230).

bidden; and the severest penalties were denounced against all who should attempt to introduce any papal or archiepiscopal letters into England. The prelates were assembled for the purpose of giving their consent to these orders, but were afraid to venture on so bold a defiance of their ecclesiastical superiors; and some of them, by way of sheltering themselves from the King's anger, took refuge in religious houses. Such was the state of things when Henry, after an absence of four years, landed in England in March, 1170.[a]

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[a] Gervas., 1408-1410; Thom., Ep. 372; Fitzst., i. 267-8; Will. Cant., i. 19. See above, p. 176, note [c].

CHAPTER XII.

THE RECONCILIATION.—A.D. 1170.

THE Pope was still earnestly desirous of a reconciliation, and in January, 1170, he directed a fresh commission to Rotrou, Archbishop of Rouen, and Bernard, Bishop of Nevers—the one, for the appearance of impartiality, being chosen from among the subjects of Henry, and the other from those of Louis;[a] and with these the Archbishop of Sens, although not formally appointed as their colleague, was desired to join in the work of mediation.[b] William of Sens, who, as we have seen, had just signalized his zeal for Becket by undertaking a journey to the papal court, is truly described in Mr. Froude's volume as "a warm supporter of the Archbishop's cause; but," it is added, "the other two were persons of views directly opposed to it, and had manifested their opposition only very lately, at the close of Gratian's and Vivian's embassy."[c] As to the previous conduct of the Bishop of Nevers, we do not remember anything except the fact of his having written to the Pope on that occasion a very moderate and sensible letter in behalf of the English King.[d] But the description of the Archbishop of Rouen

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[a] Ap. Thom., Epp. 152-3, 287.
[b] Ib. 262.
[c] P. 466.
[d] Ap. Fol., Ep. 455.

is decidedly unjust; for Rotrou bore the character of a true and steady churchman. We have already seen that John of Salisbury styled him "that most firm pillar of the Church;" that he had been favourably disposed towards Becket, until disgusted and alienated by his arrogance and violence;[a] and that his behaviour at the conference with Gratian and Vivian had been such as to command the respect of Becket's partisans, although, like the Bishop of Nevers, he had been led by the result of that conference to address to the Pope a letter of wise and temperate remonstrance against the pretensions by which the English Primate seemed determined to render hopeless any accommodation with the secular power.[b]

"On this appointment being made," says Mr. Froude's editor, "Becket endeavoured to give it a good direction, and wrote a letter to the Bishop of Nevers how to act in his new situation." Although such an attempt to influence an arbiter is repugnant to modern ideas, we are not, perhaps, entitled to censure it on that account; but we may extract from the opening of the Archbishop's letter a specimen of his tone with regard to the King: "Unless I am deceived, you will have to fight with beasts; for, if he perceive that he cannot circumvent you with promises and smooth words, he will bring forth his bishops, and abbots, and wise men, to besiege your constancy. Since, therefore, it is not easy to detect the manifold disguises of this prodigy, look with suspicion on him and on everything of his, whatever he may say, whatever shape he may put on, and believe that all is

[a] P. 194. [b] P. 225.

full of deceit, unless in so far as his acts shall manifestly vouch for his sincerity. Should he find that he can either corrupt you by promises or frighten you by threats, you will immediately lose all authority in his eyes, and you will become a subject of contempt and derision to him and his party. If, however, he see that he cannot bend you from your purpose, he will at first make a show of rage; he will swear and forswear, he will change like Proteus; but at last he will return to himself, and from that time forward, unless the fault be your own, you will always be for a god unto Pharaoh."[a] And from this the Archbishop goes on, in a style of great assumption, to lay down the duties of the commissioners, and to caution them against all possible evasions on the part of the King.

The charge given to Rotrou and his colleague was, that they should endeavour to mediate between the King and the Archbishop, and to procure the restoration of the exiles, with compensation for their losses, (although, if the King should demur to the immediate payment of a thousand marks, which Becket had demanded, they were not to insist on it); that they should prevail on Henry to give the kiss of peace, or, if this were impossible, that they should persuade the Archbishop to receive it from the King's eldest son, as representative of his father—an expedient by which Henry had proposed to get over the difficulty of his oath, while the Pope, in a special letter, offered to absolve him from the

[a] iii. 303; Froude, 467-8.

oath.[a] If their attempts to effect a peace should fail, the commissioners were to threaten an interdict on the King's continental dominions at the end of forty days; but this threat was not to be executed if within the interval Henry should show any signs of a better mind. They were to absolve the excommunicates, if there were a prospect of a reconciliation; but on condition that the excommunication should revive, unless a settlement actually followed.[b] By a later letter they were authorised to suspend, and, in case of obstinacy, to excommunicate any prelate or other person who should refuse to defer to their sentence of interdict.[c]

The Bishop of London was not included in the general absolution; for Becket had always regarded him as the soul of the opposite party, and had insisted, with all his energy and with all the interest which he could command, that the sentence against him should be confirmed. But the interest employed on behalf of Foliot was stronger; and when, after a journey which the fear of his enemies rendered circuitous and difficult, he had reached Milan,[d] on his way to the Papal Court, he received a letter from the Pope, informing him that the Archbishop of Rouen and the Bishop of Nevers were authorised to absolve him, on his swearing to obey the

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[a] Ap. Thom., Ep. 307. Henry I. had refused a similar offer from Paschal II., on the ground that to accept it would be unworthy of a king, and an example tending to produce universal distrust among men. Eadmer, ed. Gerberon, p. 75.

[b] Ep. 253.

[c] Ep. 254.

[d] "Ad Sanctum Ambrosium." Diceto, 552.

Pope's mandate as to the matters in question.[a] If the Commissioners should be unable to attend together, either of them was empowered to pronounce the absolution, which was to be formally announced to the Archbishop of Canterbury, with a charge (of which the object does not appear) that he should keep it secret "until it could be published without danger to the Bishop of London himself."[b] Foliot, on receiving the Pope's letter, turned homewards; he was absolved by Rotrou at Rouen on Easter-Day, and, agreeably to the Pope's directions, the act was immediately notified to the English Primate.[c] To Becket this announcement was a token that his enemies prevailed at the Papal Court, and he wrote to the Archbishop of Rouen, remonstrating against the absolution as informal, because there was no evidence of the other Commissioner's inability to be present, and because the Bishop of London, instead of keeping it secret, had forthwith done his utmost to blaze it abroad.[d] The first of these objections appears somewhat captious,[e] and the other is utterly unfounded; for the Pope had not bound Foliot to se-

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[a] Alex. ap. Thom., Ep. 280, where, as Ep. 256 shows, the Bishop of Exeter is wrongly named, instead of the Bishop of Nevers.

[b] Ep. 256.

[c] Ep. 323; cf. Fol., Epp. 432-4.

[d] Ep. 108.

[e] Although the words of the Pope's letter as to Foliot, "adesse non potest" .... "interesse non potuerit" .... speak only of inability, whereas the general instructions to the commissioners authorise one to act if the other should be unable or *unwilling* ("quod tamen non credimus"), the difference of the business is enough to account for the difference of words. In the one case, unwillingness was provided against because it seemed possible; in the other, the possibility of it was not imagined.

crecy, but had allowed the absolution to be published as soon as might be consistent with *his* interest. But the Archbishop's indignation burst forth more remarkably in an epistle to a cardinal, which, for furious invective against ecclesiastical superiors, could hardly be paralleled by anything in the writings of our highest modern Churchmen. He characterises the letter by which the absolution was authorised as an order "that Satan might be let loose for the ruin of the Church." "I know not how it is," he continues, "that in the Court of Rome the Lord's side is always sacrificed — that Barabbas escapes, and Christ is put to death.[a] . . . With you, the wretched, the exiles, the innocent are condemned, and for no other reason (to speak on my conscience) than because they are the poor of Christ, and weak, and would not go back from the righteousness of God; while, on the other hand, you absolve the sacrilegious, the murderers, the robbers, the impenitent, whom I openly declare, on Christ's authority, that Peter himself, if he were in the Papal chair, could not absolve in the sight of God.[b] Let any one who dares, bind himself, and not dread the sentence of the Judge who is to come. Let him absolve the robbers, the sacrilegious, the murderers, the perjurers, the men of blood, the schismatics, without repentance. I will never remit to the impeni-

[a] This phrase is repeated in a violent letter to the Pope by the Archbishop of Sens, who was annoyed that the absolution had been granted without his knowledge. (Ap. Thom., Ep. 329.) The Pope replied to him evasively, but mildly. (Ib., 262.) "Frustra laborat Baronius," says Brial, "ut Alexandrum a tergiversatione immunem præstet." (434.)

[b] There is a similar passage as to the limitation of the Pope's power in Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 198, col. 218, C.

tent the things which have been taken away from the Church of God. Is it not our spoils, or rather the spoils of the Church, which the King's emissaries lavish on and pay to the cardinals of Rome? . . . For my own part, I am resolved no longer to trouble the Court; let those resort thither who prevail in their iniquities, and, after triumphing over justice and leading innocence captive, return with boasting for the confusion of the Church. Would to God that the way to Rome had not caused, for no purpose, the deaths of so many poor and innocent persons!"[a]

There are those who would use the history of Becket as an argument in favour of Rome! There are those who represent the temper of his latter days as that of a man purified by suffering to calm and saintly resignation!

In the mean time Henry was busy in preparations for the coronation of his eldest son, who, in February, 1170, completed his fifteenth year. This, according to some writers, was an expedient intended to ward off the threatened interdict from his subjects by nominally transferring them to the Prince,[b] while others represent it as having originated merely in a wish to annoy the

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[a] Ep. 31 (comp. Ep. 390, which is a remonstrance of the exiles against the Pope's vacillating policy.) The next letter in the old collection (v. 21 = Ep. 40 in Giles) says, "Innocentes, miseri, pro libertate ecclesiæ gratis in itinere perierunt." See, too, Herbert, 254. But Mr. Froude seems to go too far in saying that there is an allusion "to the suspicious deaths of some former envoys at the Roman court," (481,) since the words do not hint at anything beyond the effects which might have followed from the hardships of the journey and the insalubrity of the Roman air.

[b] Fitzst., 272.

Primate by invading the privileges of his see, among which was that of crowning the Sovereigns of England. Very possibly, one or both of these motives may have been concerned in the matter at the time which we have now reached; but it ought not to be forgotten that the idea of crowning the heir-apparent had been entertained long before: for we are told that that mission of Chancellor Thomas from Normandy into England, which resulted in his own elevation to the primacy, was connected with the intended coronation of Prince Henry;[a] and in the end of 1163, shortly after the Council of Westminster, John of Salisbury speaks of the ceremony as having been deferred in order that it might be performed by the Pope in person.[b] It would seem that, on the death of Theobald, both the Archbishop of York and the King made application to the Pope in connexion with this subject. Roger, bent on the exaltation of his see, obtained a letter acknowledging that the right of crowning kings belonged to him and had belonged to his predecessors;[c] while Henry, who was then offended with Roger and desirous to guard against any claims which he might set up during the vacancy of Canterbury, obtained a grant authorising him to employ

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[a] Grim, i. 13.

[b] Joh. Sarisb., i. 191, ed. Giles.

[c] Alex. ap. Thom., Ep. 241. Although Becket had been consecrated a month before the date of this (Montpellier, July 5, 1162), no doubt it was the fruit of solicitation during the vacancy. Theobald had been afraid that Roger might invade the privileges of Canterbury by crowning a king; *i. e.*, apparently, by performing the coronation of Stephen's son, which Theobald himself had refused to do. (Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 34.)

such bishops as he himself might choose for the coronation of his son.[a] In 1166, the Pope had forbidden the English bishops to take part in any coronation during the exile of their Primate;[b] but in the following year, when at the extremity of his fear from the assault of Frederick Barbarossa, he had again granted the Archbishop of York authority to perform the ceremony.[c]

The Pope had been lately beset with fresh solicitations from both sides, and appears for a time to have endeavoured to keep well with both; for the King's envoys, in their return through France, gave out that they had obtained Alexander's consent to the coronation,[d] and at the time when Becket was complaining of this to the Pope, a new letter was on its way to prohibit Roger and

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[a] This appears from Becket's account of his last interview with the King (iii. 70).

[b] Thom., Ep. 244.

[c] Ep. 245. About this letter, which is not in the Vatican MS. and was not printed by Lupus, there has been much controversy. Both by the defenders and by the assailants of its genuineness, it has usually been referred to the beginning of 1170, the time at which letters of an opposite tendency were addressed by the Pope to others; and the question, whether Alexander could have been guilty of such duplicity, has entered largely into the arguments on the genuineness of the letter. See, for it, Lyttelton, ii. 540, who first published it from a MS. in the Bodleian; Milman (who, however, does not speak positively), iii. 511; against it, Berington's Henry II., 606-8; Lingard, ii. 234, 12mo.; ii. 153, ed. 1849; Pauli, 80, who says that it has no date, and is certainly spurious; Buss, 591, 598. But Boehmer gives a date: "Apud S. Mariam Novam, xv. kal. Julii," which throws a new light on the letter by referring it to the time of the siege of Rome by Frederick; it is considered genuine by Jaffé (713); and is so given in Migne's Patrologia, ii. 457. Lord Lyttelton (ii. 549) has pointed out the art with which the Pope assumes that his consent is necessary to the coronation itself, and not only to the determination of the right of officiating at it. "Henricum . . . ex auctoritate beati Petri ac nostra concedimus in Anglia coronandum."

[d] iii. 64; vi. 230.

other English prelates from officiating in the absence of their chief.[a] This prohibition, however, was ineffectual, partly through Becket's remissness in making use of it,[b] and partly through the care which was taken to prevent the Papal letter, and those from the Archbishop which accompanied it, from reaching the persons for whom they were intended. It is said that some copies were introduced into England, but that no one would venture to deliver them; and it is also said that some of the bishops refused them, or pretended not to have received them.[c] The bishop of Worcester, son of Earl Robert of Gloucester, had been invited by the King to follow him into England for the coronation of his young kinsman; but Becket, on being informed that he was about to cross the sea, took the opportunity of charging him to prevent the performance of the ceremony by the Archbishop of York or other English bishops;[d] and, lest the bishop should

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[a] Ep. 247; Herb., vii. 297. Mr. Morris tells us that "St. Thomas had received from the Holy Father letters dated Feb. 26th [1170], and still earlier from Anagni, in November [1169]; others again from the Lateran, April 5th [1170], forbidding any one but the Archbishop of Canterbury to perform the ceremony" (276). The letter of April 5th is that which has been already mentioned as written in 1166; for that from Anagni Mr. Morris refers to Rymer, i. 29. There is no such letter in that place; but at p. 26 of the new edition is the letter to which Mr. Morris probably refers. Although, however, the editors unaccountably date it in Nov. 1170, it is addressed to Becket's successor, Richard, and was written in some year between 1174 and 1179. (Jaffé, 781.) The letter of February is, therefore, the only one which belongs to this time.

[b] "Vobis imputate, qui litteras non misistis, quæ poterant consecrationem impedire." iv. 300.

[c] Ep. 389. Will. Cant., ii. 26. See a letter of John of Salisbury to the monks of Christchurch, Canterbury, Ep. 296. Fitzstephen says that they were delivered to the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of London on the day before the coronation (i. 268).

[d] Ep. 105.

interfere in this manner, he was forbidden by the Queen and the Justiciary of Normandy to embark.[a] On Sunday, the 14th of June, the young Henry, who on the day before had received knighthood from his father, was crowned at Westminster by the Archbishop of York, with the assistance of the Bishops of London, Salisbury, Rochester, Séez, and others.[b] No oath to preserve the liberties of the Church was required from him, although the Pope had written to Becket that such an oath must be a condition of any coronation;[c] but it is said that the bishops swore afresh to observe the Constitutions of Clarendon.[d] Immediately after the ceremony the elder King returned to Normandy.[e]

The Archbishop of Rouen and his colleagues now renewed their efforts at mediation,[f] and found Henry much inclined to peace,—chiefly by the knowledge that an interdict was hanging very closely over his kingdom,

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[a] Fitzst., i. 268, who gives a remarkable conversation as having passed between the Bishop and the King after the coronation.

[b] "Pridie festum SS. Viti et Modesti." Fitzst., i. 268; Epp. 389, 392. The Pope writes to the Archbishop of Rouen against the part which the Bishop of Séez took in these affairs. S. T. C., iv. 64.

[c] Ep. 224. See Carte, i. 623.

[d] iv. 50. This Carte disbelieves, i. 623-4.

[e] Fitzst., i. 269. Herbert in this place tells a story of a vision, from which it appears that Becket "wanted the accomplishment of verse." He was warned in sleep that two of the King's sons would die before their father; and, as the warning was in the form of a hexameter, the biographer argues that it must have been supernatural, since his schoolmasters had never been able to instil into him the art of making a line (vii. 300).

[f] Peter of Blois, about this time, states that some papal legates, with whom he had travelled from the "Roman Court" to Bologna, spoke confidently of Becket's reconciliation with the King, or of his translation "to the eminence of a greater patriarchate," as certain to take place shortly. Ep. 22.

as the Pope had entrusted Becket with the power of issuing the sentence, and letters to the English bishops were already prepared, with a view of putting it in force:[a] for this sentence, which closed all the churches throughout the kingdom or district against which it was pronounced—silencing the bells, removing the outward tokens of religion, and denying its offices to the people, except in such a measure and with such circumstances as tended to impress the imagination with a deeper horror[b]—was something which kings, even the boldest and those who were least sensible to spiritual impressions, dreaded to encounter, on account of its effect on the minds of their subjects.[c] Becket was persuaded, by the urgency of the Archbishop of Sens,[d] to accompany him to a meeting between the Kings of England and France, which was to take place in a meadow between Freteval and La Ferté Bernard, on the borders of the provinces of Tours and Chartres; and on St. Mary Magdalene's day —the third day of the conference—he was admitted to an interview with Henry. It had been agreed that, in order to guard against the appearance of constraint, the King of France should not be present at

July 22.

[a] iii. 66, 199, 201, 207, 209, &c.; iv. 57, 60.

[b] The baptism of infants and the penance of the dying were, however, always allowed. See the letters written on this occasion; also Hincmar, Opera, ii. 510-4, ed. Paris, 1645; Schmid, Liturgik, i. 723-4 (Passau, 1840).

[c] Fitzstephen reports that some one said to Henry, "Ut quid tenetur exclusus [archiepiscopus]? melius tenebitur inclusus quam exclusus," and that on this hint the King acted with a view of inveigling Becket into his power (i. 272). But the force of the story is not apparent, since Henry had always declared that he had not driven the Archbishop away, and that he wished him to return.

[d] iv. 303.

their meeting;[a] and, as the hostile English bishops were not at hand to exert their influence against the Primate, the King was disposed to conciliation and concession. Immediately on seeing the Archbishop approach, he broke from the crowd which surrounded him, hastened to meet him, and, uncovering his head, anticipated him in uttering a salutation.[b] The old points of difference were avoided, or were yielded by the King. Nothing was said of the Constitutions, or of exacting any oath from the exiles; but it was promised that they should be allowed to return to England in security, and that full restitution should be made of all the property which the Archbishop demanded. The King and the Primate rode apart together, and conversed with such an appearance of familiarity, "that," says Becket, "it might have seemed as if there had never been any disagreement between us."[c] The conversation lasted so long that the spectators of it became weary of waiting: it was observed that both Henry and Becket twice dismounted from their horses and remounted. Henry spoke of taking the cross, and leaving his son under the Archbishop's care, with entire command of the kingdom; to which the Archbishop replied that, although indisposed to undertake secular office, yet, if the King would entrust his son and his kingdom to Hugh de Beauchamp, he himself would aid with his advice.[d] Becket desired that he might be allowed, without offending the King, to inflict ecclesiastical punishment on the Bishops who had

[a] Fitzst., i. 273.
[b] iii. 67.
[c] iii. 67; Garnier, 114.
[d] Garnier, 115.

been concerned in the late coronation. To this Henry replied that he had not supposed their act to be an invasion of the privileges of Canterbury, but believed himself entitled to have his son crowned wherever and by whomsoever he might please; and he referred to the coronations of William the Conqueror and of Henry I. as precedents. The Archbishop rejoined, that, when the Conqueror was crowned by Aldred of York, the throne of Canterbury was virtually vacant, as Stigand had not received the pall from a legitimate Pope; that Anselm was in exile when the urgency of affairs required that Henry I. should be crowned by the Bishop of Hereford as his representative, and that, on Anselm's return, Henry requested him to perform a fresh coronation.[a] The King assured him of his son's affection, proposed that the Prince should be crowned anew by him, together with the Princess his wife (whose father, King Louis, regarded it as a slight to her and to himself that she had not been included in the former coronation); and he granted the permission which was desired. On receiving this, Becket dismounted, and was about to throw himself at the King's feet; but Henry also alighted from his horse, embraced the Archbishop, and held his stirrup in order to assist him in remounting.[b] The

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[a] iii. 68. William of Malmesbury, however (as Dr. Lingard observes, ii. 3), speaks of Thomas of York as officiating at Henry's coronation. (Perhaps this mistake arises from the fact that Gerard of Hereford was soon after translated to York.) The assertion as to Henry and Anselm seems to be groundless. Carte, i. 625.

[b] This was a service which Emperors and Kings were expected to render to Popes, from the time when the example was set in 1095

witnesses of this scene, who were delighted at the appearance of a reconciliation, then urged the King to give the kiss of peace, as the Pope had absolved him from the oath which had before been an obstacle; but, although he professed himself willing to kiss the Archbishop a hundred times, on mouth, hands, and feet, he desired that, for the sake of saving his honour, he might be excused until he should be within his own dominions, where the act might have more the grace of appearing voluntary.[a] To this the Archbishop agreed, in accordance with the general feeling; and he sealed the reconciliation by bestowing his benediction on the King.[b] When, however, Henry requested that he would spend some days with him, by way of displaying publicly the reality of the reconciliation, he excused himself under the plea that he must take leave of his French benefactors before returning to England.[c]

Very soon it appeared that the peace which had been concluded was only superficial—as, according to Herbert, might have been inferred from the very name of the place, which was known among the neighbours as "The Traitor's Meadow."[d] The King, in accordance with his promise to restore the property of the exiles,[e] wrote to desire that his son, who was then administering the government of England, would cause everything to be

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by Conrad, whom the hierarchical party had induced to rebel against his father, the Emperor Henry IV.

[a] Herbert says that the kiss was not mentioned at all (vii. 304).

[b] Fitzst., i. 273-6; Herb., vii. 305; Garn., 113-6; S. T. C., iii. 66-72; iv. 303-5; Diceto, 552.

[c] Will. Cant. in S. T. C., ii. 27-8.

[d] vii. 305.

[e] Fol., Ep. 496.

put into the condition in which it had been three months before the exile;[a] but the execution of this mandate was impeded in every way by those who were in possession. The agents whom Becket sent into England found the houses belonging to his see dilapidated and deserted, the farm-buildings destroyed, the stock carried off,[b] the lands untilled, the woods cut down; and the tidings of his reconciliation with the King had been received as a signal for increased waste of his property. Some of his clergy, on resuming their benefices, were again violently driven out; the revenues of the Archbishopric, which fell due at Martinmas, were seized by the King's officials;[c] the agents found themselves industriously thwarted by young Henry's advisers, among whom Archdeacon Ridel, whom the Archbishop had refused to absolve at Freteval, was prominent.[d] They reported to him that all his friends in England united in advising him not to return until his relations with the King should be more satisfactory; that Ranulf de Broc (who was especially interested in the matter, inasmuch as his very castle of Saltwood was at stake[e]) had sworn that the Archbishop should not live to eat a whole loaf on English ground;[f] that his enemies among the prelates were urging that he should not be allowed to return, except on condition of

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[a] Fol., Ep. 497.

[b] "Ne remist buef ne uache, ne chapuns, ne geline,
Cheual, porc, ne brebiz, ne de blé plaine mine." *Garn.* 120.

[c] Joh. Sar., Ep. 300; Garnier, 120; Gervase, 1413.

[d] Epp. 25 (pp. 74-5), 183, 394.

[e] Herb., vii. 307. See p. 157. The King's letter to his son (Fol. 497) makes special mention of Saltwood, and directs that the Archbishop's claim to it should be settled by the evidence of some "de legalioribus et antiquioribus militibus."

[f] iii. 381.

renouncing the legatine power, giving up all Papal letters, and swearing to obey the Constitutions; and that a scheme had been devised for filling up the vacant sees without his assistance, by sending the bishops elect to receive consecration from the Pope.[a]

Finding that there were difficulties in the way, the Archbishop sent John of Salisbury, together with Herbert of Bosham, to press for the fulfilment of the King's promises as to restitution, and, in particular, to urge the old claims to Saltwood, and to the custody of Rochester Castle. If the answers should be favourable, they were to go on to England; but otherwise, they were to return to their master. After having been detained at Court some time, on account of the King's illness, the envoys were admitted to an interview. "The King," says Herbert, "as his manner was, put off, put off, and again put off;"[b] and at length he replied to John, who was the spokesman, "O John, I shall certainly not give up the castle to you, unless I first see a change in your behaviour towards me." It does not appear to what behaviour the King alluded; and, without a knowledge of this, we cannot think it fair to charge him alone with all the blame of the disagreements which followed the accommodation at Freteval. The envoys, being unable to obtain a more favourable answer to their application, returned to their master instead of prosecuting their journey into England.[c]

During the remaining months of the Archbishop's stay

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[a] S. T. C., iv. 308; Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 300.

[b] "More suo distulit, distulit, et redistulit." vii. 307.

[c] Ib.

in France, he had several interviews with the King.[a] The first of these was at Tours, where, as Henry did not spontaneously offer the kiss of peace, the Archbishop, from a wish not to appear impatient, refrained from asking for it. Complaints and words of reproach were uttered on each side; but, by the mediation of Count Theobald of Blois, the King was persuaded to renew his promise of restitution, although he expressed a wish that the Archbishop should previously return to England, so that it might be seen in what manner he was disposed to behave.[b] A second meeting took place at Amboise, where Becket appeared as the King was going to mass. Nigel de Sackville, one of the royal chaplains, informed his master that the Archbishop had arrived, probably with the intention of entrapping the King into giving the kiss during the service of the mass, and told Henry that he might defeat such a design by ordering the officiating priest to say the mass for the dead, as in it the pax was omitted. This suggestion was acted on; but a later part of the service afforded the Archbishop an opportunity of asking for the promised kiss, as he was now within the King's dominions. "Another time you shall have enough of it," was the answer.[c] At a later meeting, which took place at Chaumont near Blois, the question of the kiss would seem not to have been mentioned, and the tone of the conversation was friendly. "Why is it," asked the King, "that you will not do as I wish? I would put everything into your hands"—

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[a] There are some unimportant variations in the accounts of these.

[b] Herb., vii. 308.

[c] Fitzst., i. 278-9.

"and," said Becket, in relating the story to Herbert, "I remembered the words, 'All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me.'"[a] On Henry's promising to see him again shortly, either at Rouen or in England, "My Lord," said the Archbishop, "my mind misgives me that you will never see me again in this life." "What!" asked Henry, "do you take me for a traitor?" "Far be it from you, my Lord," replied Becket. And thus they finally parted.[b]

While the Archbishop was complaining that the restitution of his property was delayed, the King complained of his lingering so long in France, and sent messengers to hasten his preparations for returning home.[c] It is said that both the French King and the Bishop of Paris endeavoured at parting to dissuade him from venturing into England without having secured the kiss of peace, and that to both he expressed a foreboding that he was going to his death.[d] At length, however, he resolved to set out, and left Sens on All Saints Day.[e] At Rouen he was disappointed by finding that Henry, instead of meeting him, as he had expected, excused himself on the ground of political business; that Arch-

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[a] vii. 309.

[b] Fitzst., i. 279.

[c] Ib. 278.

[d] Ib. 277.

[e] Joh. Sar., Ep. 299. "Prout adhuc pauperes et exules potuimus," says Herbert, "nostrum ad repatriandum iter maturabamus. Nec ob id *pauperes* nomino, quin archipræsul cum suis in magno et præclaro apparatu revertisset, plus, ni fallor, quam cum equitaturis centum repatrians. Quod ideo memoro hic, ut ubique et in omni statu suo probetur magnus," &c. (vii. 309-310). In short, Herbert confesses that he uses the word *poor* merely by way of cant. Could Becket afford such a cavalcade? If so, he was not in distress; if not, he was blameably extravagant.

bishop Rotrou had received no command to accompany him into England; but that, instead of this, the King had sent him by way of escort one of the persons who were most obnoxious to him and had been most active in opposition to him—John of Oxford, Dean of Salisbury. He was also disappointed in his expectation of finding at Rouen a sum of money from the King for the payment of his debts and travelling expenses; and as the promised supply was not forthcoming, he was obliged to borrow 300*l.* from Rotrou.[a]

Since the date of the violent letter which we lately quoted, a change had taken place in the policy of the Roman Court. The majority of the cardinals—including some who had hitherto been strenuous on the opposite side, and apparently even William of Pavia—were now favourable to Becket;[b] and the Pope, shamed out of his former timid courses, on hearing of the coronation empowered the Archbishop to inflict the censures of the Church on all who had been concerned in it. Letters were prepared by which the Archbishop of York and other prelates were suspended from their office, and the Bishops of London and Salisbury were again placed under the anathema which had been denounced against them; and these letters were sent to Becket, for the purpose of being used at his discretion.[c] The Arch-

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[a] Joh. Sar., Ep. 300; Garnier, 119, 121; Foliot, Ep. 498; Fitzst., i. 279-280; Herb., vii. 277-9.

[b] Fol., Ep. 392. See p. 208, n. [b].

[c] Epp. 230, 249, 272; iii. 78-80 (Septr. 10-16). In a letter which is dated "20 Kal. Oct.," but which Jaffé refers to Oct. 9, the Pope assures Becket that the Archbishop of York's invasion of the southern province in the case of the late coronation shall not pre-

bishops of Sens and Rouen were directed to insist on Henry's fulfilment of the promises made to the English Primate, and on the withdrawal of the offensive Constitutions, under the penalty of an interdict unless he should comply within thirty days after receiving their admonition.[a] At Witsand, where he intended to embark, Becket heard that the Archbishop of York, with the Bishops of London and Salisbury, was preparing to cross into Normandy for the purpose of claiming the King's protection; and he at once despatched the letters of excommunication and suspension across the Channel.[b] A clerk who accompanied the messenger was seized at Dover, and, as he could not show the King's license for his landing, was compelled to recross the straits with the first wind;[c] and the delivery of the letters produced a ferment of exasperation among the Archbishop's

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judice the Archbishop of Canterbury's right, "quominus coronationis et inunctionis regum Angliæ possessionem taliter habeatis, sicut antecessores tui et eadem ecclesia a quadraginta annis retro habuisse noscitur" (Ep. 228). This seems to suggest that the Archbishop of York might properly have performed the coronation unless it had been specially forbidden, and unless he had gone beyond his own province. Such a right had been successfully asserted in the case of one of Louis VII.'s queens by the Archbishop of Sens against the Archbishop of Rheims, who claimed the exclusive privilege of crowning for all France. Rob. Autissiod., A.D. 1054, in Rec. des Hist., xiv.

[a] Ep. 263 (Oct. 9).

[b] Diceto, 553-4. It has been very generally said that a letter to a nun named Idonea, encouraging her to perform a dangerous task in delivering a mandate from the Pope to the Archbishop of York (Ep. 196), was written on this occasion: but it seems rather to relate to the letter forbidding the coronation. Garnier (124) and Gervase (141) speak of a servant — "uaslet à pié" — "puer" — as employed on this occasion, and Roger says that his name was Osbern (i. 159).

[c] Garnier, 124; Gervase, 141.

enemies. He had already received several warnings as to their designs; and now, as he was pacing the beach at Witsand, the master of a vessel which came in from England reported that the coast was beset by armed men, who were bent on seizing, and probably murdering him.[a] But his resolution to return to Canterbury was not to be shaken by any fear of danger. He declared that for more than six years he had been an exile, and that, although he believed his death to be at hand—even if he were to be torn limb from limb—nothing should any longer keep him from his post.[b] It was in no spirit of peace or conciliation that he prepared to return; the step which he had taken in making use of the papal letters, which were intended to be published only in extremity, and were certain to reopen and envenom the wounds which had been superficially healed, was censured by all but those in whom personal devotion to him had wholly overpowered their prudence and their discernment.[c]

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[a] Comp. Garnier, 122-3.

[b] iii. 83-4; Fitzst., i. 280; Will. Cant., ii. 28; Herb., vii. 310-5; Garnier, 123.

[c] See Anon. Lambeth., ii. 116; Will. Neubrig., ii. 25, p. 154.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE RETURN AND THE MURDER.—DEC. A.D. 1170.

AFTER a favourable passage the Archbishop landed at Sandwich, a town belonging to his see,[a] and in that age "the most famous of all English seaports."[b] As the vessel approached the harbour, the archiepiscopal banner of the cross was displayed, and a multitude flocked forth at the sight to welcome their spiritual father—some rushing into the water that they might be the first to receive his blessing, while others knelt or prostrated themselves by the wayside where he was to pass, and the air was filled with cries of "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord!"[c] His enemies had expected him to land at Dover; but it would seem that they had been apprised of his change of plan, and soon after his arrival at Sandwich a party of them appeared in arms, headed by Gervase de Cornhill, sheriff of Kent, Reginald de Warrenne, and Ranulf de Broc, who had been in communication with the suspended and excommunicated bishops at Dover.[d] Violence was, however, prevented

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[a] Boys, 'Hist. of Sandwich,' 655.

[b] "Omnium Anglorum portuum famosissimus." — *Encomium Emmæ*, quoted in 'Handb. of Kent and Sussex.' (202.) If the landing was on Tuesday (see p. 339), the day was Dec. 1, as the continuer of Florence of Worcester says (ii. 142); but the statements vary as to this.

[c] Herb., vii. 315.

[d] Roger, 159. For R. de War-

by the presence of John of Oxford, who took aside the leaders of the force, and represented to them the discredit which would result to the King from any seeming breach of the late agreement;[a] nor, indeed, were they strong enough to attempt any violence in the face of the multitudes who were exulting in the Archbishop's return, and were ready to fight for him as their feudal lord.[b] The sheriff, in order that he might not appear to have come without an object, inquired whether there were any foreign clerks in the Archbishop's train, and wished to exact from the Archdeacon of Sens, who appears to have been the only person of this description, an oath that he had no design against the peace of the realm, and would behave with fidelity to the King. But, although the archdeacon was ready to comply, Becket protested against this, as unprecedented and inhospitable: such oaths, he said, ought not to be exacted except from persons who were liable to suspicion; nothing of the kind had ever been required from clerks in attendance on the Archbishop of Canterbury, and he would not allow the practice to begin with himself. On being desired to absolve the bishops, he said that he had the King's licence for pronouncing censures on them, but deferred his answer until he should be at Canterbury; and, after

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renne, see Foss, i. 319; for G. de Cornhill, ib., 226; for John of Oxford, ib., 288. De Warrenne was of a great family, which Becket had provoked by preventing the marriage of one of the daughters with the King's brother William, on the ground of consanguinity; an impediment with which ecclesiastics in those days played fast and loose in the case of persons of rank. See Fitzst., i. 303.

[a] Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 300, col. 350, A; Garnier, 124.

[b] Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 300; S. T. C., iii. 85; Gervas., 1413.

some high words, the sheriff and his companions withdrew.[a]

On the following day the Archbishop proceeded to Canterbury. The news of his landing had already spread, and the general enthusiasm rendered his journey a sort of triumph. As he passed along the road the whole population of the neighbourhood pressed to see him—each parish headed by its priest. They stripped off their clothes and spread them in the way, while one party after another caught up and prolonged the jubilant cry, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord!"[b] On reaching his city the Primate was received with processions. The cathedral was adorned with the most sumptuous hangings; the clergy were arrayed in their festival robes; banquets were prepared to welcome the chief pastor; hymns, organs, trumpets, bells, loudly testified the general joy.[c]

As the Archbishop entered the cathedral, his face was flushed as if with exultation and joy, and the expression of it was remarked as singularly gracious.[d] After having prostrated himself on the pavement he took his place in the choir, where he received the monks, one by one, to

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[a] iii. 84-5; Fitzst., i. 281; Roger, ib., 159; Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 300; Garnier, 125-6.

[b] Herbert's "*Diceres* profecto si videres, Dominum secundo ad passionem appropinquare" (vii. 317)—*i. e.*, one aware of what was at hand might have said so—is not quite the same as M. Michelet's "*Tous disaient* que," &c.; and it is rather startling to find the words which follow, as to "dying at Canterbury for the English Church," translated "qu'il allait souffrir *pour Kent*." (iii. 185.)

[c] Fitzst., i. 282.

[d] Herb., vii. 317.

the kiss of peace[a]—many of them breaking forth into tears and cries of emotion. Herbert tells us that, at this stage of the proceedings, he approached his master and whispered to him, "My Lord, now we need not care how soon you leave the world, forasmuch as this day Christ and His spouse, the Church, have conquered in you;" to which Becket replied only by a look.[b] From the choir he proceeded to the chapter-house, where he preached an eloquent sermon on the text, "Here we have no continuing city, but we seek one to come;"[c] and the remainder of the day was spent in the palace with joy and festive solemnity.[d]

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[a] The relation of the monks with the Archbishop had not been very friendly. John of Salisbury writes in 1168:—"Monachi Cantuarienses hoc quasi hæreditarium semper habent, ut archiepiscopos suos oderint. . . . Anselmo, bis pro justitia exulant qui [exulanti?] nihil unquam solatii contulerunt. Contempserunt Radulphum, oderunt Willelmum, Theobaldo tetenderunt insidias: et ecce nunc Thomam gratis insatiabiliter persequuntur." (Ep. 241.) In John's letters there are constant appeals to them for money in aid of the Archbishop's necessities, and complaints that these appeals were ineffectual (*e. g.*, Epp. 152, 247-8, 289). In Ep. 299, written soon after the reconciliation, he endeavours to stir them up to meet their spiritual father on his return, as their predecessors had been the foremost to meet Anselm. John had lately been employed to absolve all who had incurred guilt by intercourse with excommunicates; and among them he had absolved the monks of Christchurch. (Ep. 300; Garnier, 121.)

[b] vii. 318.

[c] Ib., 283; Will. Cant., ii. 29. Messrs. Thierry (iii. 182), Michelet (iii. 186), and Martin (iii. 488, ed. 4), tell us that the text was, "Venio ad vos mori inter vos." Unfortunately, however, they do not give a reference to the place in Scripture where these words are to be found; and Hoveden, to whom they refer for the fact, says only that the Archbishop used this *expression* on some occasion after his return (298). Garnier seems to say that the words were introduced into this sermon (145).

[d] Herb., vii. 318.

Next morning the sheriff of Kent, with Ranulf de Broc and other officers of the King, appeared to require the answer which had been promised to them on the subject of the excommunicated and suspended bishops.[a] They were accompanied by some clerks from the prelates themselves, who strongly remonstrated against the Primate's proceedings; that, when his suffragans were waiting to receive him back with honour, he had covered them with shame by inflicting censures on them without warning or trial; that he had come, not in peace but with fire and sword, trampling down his episcopal brethren and making them his footstool; and they required that the censures should be recalled.[b] The Archbishop answered that he did not plot against the bishops, but that they thirsted for his blood:[c] "Would," he added, "that they might drink it! and they will." The censures, he said, had not been inflicted by himself, but by the Pope (an assertion which might possibly be reconciled in words with the fact that Becket had been authorised to withhold the use of the censures altogether, and, if he pronounced them, to absolve all but his brother metropolitan);[d] if, however, the delinquents would bind themselves by oath to obey the Pope's commands, he would take it on himself to release them. The other party declared that such an oath was against the custom

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[a] iii. 85; Herb., vii. 318.

[b] Fitzst., 283.

[c] We have already seen that Becket imputes thirst for his blood to William of Pavia; meaning that the cardinal wished to get him set aside by a translation (p. 204); and the same favourite exaggeration is used with regard to Foliot and other English bishops (iii. 22, 174, 328-9, &c.).

[d] See the old edition, p. 843.

of the kingdom; but Becket replied that, unless on such terms, an inferior judge could not relax a sentence of his superior; and they departed in anger—De Broc violently abusing the Archbishop.[a] It is said that the Bishops of London and Salisbury were disposed to accept the proposed terms, but that they were overruled by Roger of York, who boasted that he had both the King and the Pope at his service, and declared himself willing to empty his coffers—to spend eight—nay ten—thousand pounds, in order to put down Becket's insolence; and the three prelates proceeded together to the King's court in Normandy.[b]

After having spent a week at Canterbury, Becket set out with the intention of visiting the younger Henry at Woodstock, and presenting him with three horses, on the

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[a] Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 300, col. 350; Herb., vii. 319.

[b] Joh. Sarisb., col. 351; Fitzst., 283-4; Will. Cant., 29; S. T. C., iii. 85-6; Garnier, 132. Roger is described by William of Newburgh (iii. 5) as a very grasping prelate, who utterly disregarded his spiritual duties. John of Salisbury charges him with the most abominable vices (Ep. 305). He was especially remarkable for the tenacity with which he asserted his supposed rights against all whose claims came into collision with his. As Archdeacon of Canterbury, he quarrelled with the monks of Christchurch (Hasted, iv. 777); as Archbishop of York, he quarrelled with the Scotch bishops, and not only with Becket, but with his successor Richard. The most notorious display of his contentiousness was at a council held by a papal legate in 1176. Finding Richard of Canterbury seated in the place which he claimed for himself on the ground of his earlier consecration, he sat down in the southern Archbishop's lap,—"irreverenter natibus innitens," says Stephen of Birchington (in Wharton, Angl. Sac., i. 9); whereupon some of Richard's suffragans and clerks dragged the old brawler away, threw him down, tore his robes, and severely hurt him. The legate, horrified by such a display of English episcopal manners, broke up the council in alarm, and there was much trouble in the sequel. See Diceto, 589.

beauty of which Fitzstephen dilates with characteristic enthusiasm.[a] But the young King had been influenced against him by the Archdeacon of Canterbury and others, who had been commissioned for that purpose by the Archbishop of York and his brethren;[b] and Richard, prior of St. Martin's at Dover,[c] who was sent to announce the intended visit, met with a discouraging reception.[d] The Primate, however, persevered. In passing through Rochester he was received with great honour by the bishop—that same Walter, brother of Archbishop Theobald, who a quarter of a century before had protected him against the malice of his lifelong enemy, Roger of Pont l'Evêque,[e] and who perhaps was, for the sake of old remembrances, treated with greater lenity than other prelates who had taken part in the late coronation. As the Primate reached the capital, where he lodged at his steady friend the Bishop of Winchester's palace in Southwark, crowds of clergy and laity flocked to meet him;

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[a] i. 284.

[b] iii. 86; Grim, i. 66.

[c] Richard had been a monk of Canterbury, and afterwards a chaplain in Theobald's household, at the same time with Becket, whom he eventually succeeded in the primacy. (Herb. vii. 320-1; Gervas., 1673.)

[d] Garnier says that he found the young King at *Winchester* (126).

[e] See p. 21. Walter held the see of Rochester from 1147 to 1182. The Pope had reproved and suspended him for his share in the coronation (iv. 85-7). John of Salisbury had written to him during the exile, requesting assistance for the Archbishop, and reproaching him for not sending any. (Ep. 256; cf. 260, 265.) In Ep. 248, John says that he had in vain attempted to persuade the Archbishop to delegate any part of his authority to the bishop. Peter of Blois wrote a letter of remonstrance to Walter for indulging his love of the chase when an octogenarian. (Ep. 56, which Goussainville dates in 1176.)

but in the midst of the general rejoicings a crazy woman excited alarm and horror by repeated cries of "Archbishop, beware of the knife!" On the following morning Thomas of Tunbridge, and Joscelin of Louvain, brother of Henry I.'s queen, appeared as messengers from the Court, with an order that, as the Archbishop had broken the terms of peace by his late acts, he should proceed no farther, but should return to his diocese without entering into any of the King's towns or castles.[a] He declared that he would not have regarded this mandate were it not that he wished to keep the coming festival at his own cathedral; but he prepared to obey.[b]

Before finally turning his face homewards, however, it is said that he spent some days at Harrow, the archiepiscopal manor which had been the scene of his first introduction to Theobald. From this place he sent a letter to Abbot Simon of St. Alban's, requesting a visit, and adding that he "had never been so much in need of consolation as then." In no long time a "noble" gift of provisions from the Abbot was announced. "I accept his presents," said Becket, "but would rather have his presence." "Lo, my Lord," answered an attendant, "here he is at the door." At Becket's urgent desire, the Abbot undertook a mission to the young King's Court, but soon returned to report that he

[a] Garnier, 130; Bened., ed. Hearne, i. 9; Hoveden, 298.

[b] Herb. vii. 321. Yet Grim (66) and Hoveden (298) say that he had hoped to spend Christmas with the young King. Herbert tells us that it was his intention, after visiting Henry, "to make a circuit of his province, panting to run up and down in all directions, that he might pluck up and root out whatsoever during his absence had grown up crooked and disorderly in the Lord's garden." vii. 321.

had been received at Woodstock with insults, and even with threats of violence. The Archbishop heard this with calmness, and expressed a belief that matters were beyond the hope of cure; then, turning to his clergy, he contrasted the kindness of the Abbot, who was in no way bound to him, with the treatment which he had received from his brother bishops and suffragans. In answer to Simon's entreaty that he would spend the coming Christmas at the abbey of the British protomartyr, he declared, with tears, that he would gladly do so, but that it was impossible. He begged the Abbot to accompany him to Canterbury and become his comforter in his troubles. "May the Lord and his martyr," he said, "make the solemnity of the Nativity prosperous and joyful in your house, which may God preserve! Pray the blessed martyr, your patron, for me; and we will pray for you; and I will celebrate the festival in the church committed to me after such fashion as the Lord shall provide."[a]

As he was about to set out for Canterbury, intelligence reached the Archbishop that a vessel laden with French wines for him—although the King had allowed the wines to pass through his continental territory—had been seized by Ranulf de Broc, who had beaten or slain some of the sailors and had imprisoned others in Pevensey Castle; but by a representation of the case to the young King an order for redress was obtained.[b] On his

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[a] Matt. Paris, Hist. Major, 123-4; Vitæ Abbatum, 91-2, ed. Wats. See Appendix XXVII.

[b] Fitzst. i. 286; Bened. Petrib. in S. T. C., ii. 60.

way through his diocese the Archbishop confirmed great numbers of children, dismounting for the purpose wherever they were brought to him; and we are told that he performed many miraculous cures on the blind, the deaf, the dumb, and the lepers—nay, that he even recalled the dead to life.[a] There is, too, a strange tale of an interview at Wrotham with a priest, who, by a story of a revelation as to relics of St. Laurence and other holy personages, procured for himself a promise of a benefice, which was fulfilled on the last day of Becket's life.[b]

The interval until Christmas was full of occupation. The Archbishop heard causes in his court; he turned out clerks who had intruded into livings; and his devotion, alms, and other saintly exercises are described as surprising even to those who had attended on him during his exile.[c] But, while he was thus employed, it was remarked that persons of rank and wealth kept aloof from him;[d] and his enemies in the neighbourhood, especially the family of Broc ("that generation of vipers," as Herbert styles them),[e] were unremitting in their endeavours to annoy him. They attacked and beat his people on the highways; they even laid wait for himself; they hunted in his chase, killed his deer, and carried away his dogs; they intercepted supplies of food which were on their way for the use of his household; and Ranulf de Broc's brother Robert, who had

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[a] Grim, i. 67. "Les morz e reuiure e aler." Garnier, 121.
[b] Fitzst., 287, 293.
[c] Grim, i. 66; Roger, 159; Fitzst., 289; Garnier, 126.
[d] Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 300, col. 351.
[e] vii. 322.

formerly been a clerk, and afterwards a Cistercian monk, but had thrown off the monastic profession, instigated his nephew John to cut off the tail of one of the archiepiscopal sumpter-horses.[a] In the night service which ushered in the Christmas festival, Becket read the lesson of our Lord's generation and celebrated the nocturnal mass.[b] On Christmas Day, at High Mass, he preached on the text "On earth peace to men of good will."[c] He told the people that there had already been one martyr among the Archbishops of Canterbury (St. Alphege, who was murdered by the Danes in 1012), and that there might soon be another. He spoke of himself, with tears and sobs, as about shortly to leave the world, and the hearers were deeply affected by his pathetic language and gestures. "All through the church," says Herbert, "you might see and hear lamentations and the flowing of tears, with murmurs of—'Father, why dost thou forsake us so soon? or to whom dost thou leave us desolate?'"[d] But after a time he

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[a] Ep. 183 (a complaint to the King); Grim, i. 68; Fitzst., i. 288; Herb., vii. 322. Garnier (131) seems to be wrong in saying that the outrage was committed before the Archbishop's eyes.

[b] Fitzst., 292.

[c] "In terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis" (Luc. ii. 14). We might be startled at Dr. Giles's statement, that "On earth peace, good will towards men," was "his favourite text," and might think it a strange prelude to the scene which followed. But the words as they stand in the Latin Vulgate *were* a subject "circa quam plurimum versatus est" (Fitzst., 292), and his application of them may be gathered from the account of his interview with the emissaries of the censured Bishops after his return to Canterbury, when he told them "that there is no true peace save for men of good will" (ib. 283). It was evidently the negative side of the proposition that he preferred.

[d] vii. 322.

changed his tone, and, in a style which the same biographer describes as "fierce, indignant, fiery, and bold," he uttered a vehement invective against the courtiers in general and his other enemies; he repeated his denunciations of the prelates who had been concerned in the coronation; and, with all solemnity, he pronounced sentence of excommunication against Nigel de Sackville for retaining the church of Harrow, into which he had been intruded during the exile; against another priest, who had been guilty of a like offence; and against the brothers De Broc, for the oppressions and outrages of which they had been guilty against the Church.[a]

On St. John's Day, Herbert of Bosham and the crossbearer, Alexander Llewellyn, were sent off on a mission to the French King and the Pope. Herbert speaks of himself as having taken leave of his master with a gloomy foreboding that he should never again see him alive.[b]

In the mean time the Archbishop of York, with the two excommunicated bishops, had repaired to the King, who was at Bur or Bures, near Bayeux. Henry had already been informed of the censures pronounced against them, and, on their repeating the story, he swore by God's eyes that if all concerned in the coronation were to be excommunicated, he himself must be included.[c]

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[a] Grim, 68; Fitzst., 292; Herb., vii. 323. See S. T. C., iii. 85. Mr. Morris is not ashamed to repeat with satisfaction after Fitzstephen, that Nigel and other objects of Becket's denunciations died prematurely or unhappily. 256.

[b] vii. 324; Fitzst., 292.

[c] Garnier, 136; Will. Cant., ii.

The Archbishop's late movements were reported with malicious exaggeration. The popular demonstrations with which he had been everywhere received were represented as of a seditious tendency; an escort of five horsemen, by which he was accompanied on his return from London to Canterbury, was multiplied into a formidable force, with which it was said that he was marching through England, besieging towns and intending to drive out the younger King.[a] By these statements the King was wrought up to one of his uncontrollable fits of fury, which the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of London—Foliot, it is said, even with tears[b]—in vain attempted to mitigate. Henry asked the prelates to advise him. "Ask your barons and knights," said Roger; "it is not for us to say what ought to be done." At length one of them, apparently the Archbishop of York,[c] observed, "As long as Thomas lives, my Lord, you will have no quiet days, nor any peace in your kingdom." On this the King burst forth into a passionate exclamation, "A fellow who has eaten my bread has lifted up his heel against me! He insults

30; Herb., vii. 319-20. "The King," says a late biographer, "seems to have forgotten, or, worse still, to have kept back from them, the permission which he had given Becket previous to his departure, to punish those who had offended against the privileges of his see." But surely it is not to be supposed that Henry could ever have knowingly consented to such measures as had been taken against prelates whose fault consisted in complying with his own desire; nor, in so far as we can understand, did the Archbishop intend to use the powers entrusted to him in such a manner, until immediately before he acted.

[a] Fitzst., i. 287, 289.

[b] vi. 172 (letter from the Archbishop of York to the Pope).

[c] See Joh. Sarisb., ii. 261, who compares the counsel of Caiaphas, "that one man should die for the people."

over my favours, dishonours the whole royal race, tramples down the whole kingdom. A fellow who first broke into my court on a lame horse, with a cloak for a saddle, swaggers on my throne, while you, the companions of my fortune, look on!" and again and again he loudly reproached his courtiers as thankless cowards for suffering him to be so long exposed to the insolence of an upstart clerk.[a].

These hasty and most unhappy words were caught up by four knights, men of high connexions and officers of the household—Reginald Fitzurse, Hugh de Morville, William de Tracy, and Richard Brito, or le Breton.[b] Stung by the King's reproaches, and thinking to gratify him by carrying out his apparent wish, the four set out for England[c] and hurried to the coast, whence, em-

[a] Grim, 68; Garnier, 134; Fitzst., 290; Will. Cant., 30-1; Herb., vii. 326. The effect of this had a parallel in the Iconoclastic controversy, when the popular sympathy for a zealous monk named Stephen provoked Constantine Copronymus to exclaim, "Am I, or is this monk, Emperor of the world?" whereupon some courtiers hurried to the prison in which Stephen was confined, broke it open, and murdered him. Theophanes, p. 674, ed. Bonn.

[b] For Hugh de Morville, see Foss, i. 279; for all the four, Stanley, 54-6. One of Foliot's letters (Ep. 221) is an application to Bishop Cheney, of Lincoln, in behalf of one "R. Brito," who was connected by marriage with both Bishops. He mentions that the King had rewarded Brito's services liberally, but requests the Bishop of Lincoln to befriend a younger son, who was intended for the ecclesiastical profession (possibly Richard Brito, afterwards Archdeacon of Coventry, as to whom see Foss, i. 347). If Foliot's brother-in-law were the same person with, or related to, the Brito mentioned in the text, the connexion would have been a special cause for enmity against Becket.

[c] Garnier says that they were instigated by the Archbishop of York, who supplied them with money, and suggested the words which they used in their parley with Becket. 136.

barking at different ports, two of them were conveyed to Winchelsea and the others to a harbour near Dover.[a] "They landed," says Grim, "at Dogs' Haven—they who from that time deserved to be called dogs and wretches, not knights or soldiers." The speed and ease with which they had crossed the sea; the circumstance that, by their various routes, they all reached the same destination within the same hour,—appeared to them as signs that Providence favoured their purpose; but the biographers see in these things the speeding power of the Evil One who had suggested the enterprise.[b] It was on Innocents' Day that they arrived at Saltwood, where they were received into the castle by Ranulf de Broc. Then, if not before, they must have learned the fresh offence committed by Becket on Christmas Day; and the night was spent in consultation.[c]

After the departure of the knights, the King held a council of his barons to advise on the course which should be pursued towards the Primate. Thomas, he said, had entered his kingdom like a tyrant; he had suspended and excommunicated prelates for their obedience to the royal command; he had disturbed the whole country; he intended to dethrone both son and father; he had got from the Pope a legatine power over

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[a] "Portus Canum," Grim, i. 65; Gervase, 1414. This name does not occur in topographical books. Some writers name Dover itself.

[b] Grim, 69; Fitzst., 290; Herb., vii. 326; Gervase, 1414; Garnier, 127.

[c] Garnier, 137; Herb., 327. "In the darkness of the night—the long winter night of the 28th of December—it was believed that, with candles extinguished, and not even seeing each other's faces, the scheme was concerted." Stanley, 56.

the Crown, and privileges as to Church patronage which did away with the rights of the nobility, and even of the King himself. The general feeling was one of violent anger. "The only way to deal with such a fellow is by hanging," said Engelger de Bohun, uncle of the excommunicate Bishop of Salisbury. "As I passed through Rome, on my return from Jerusalem," said William Malvoisin, nephew of the Count of Brittany, "I was told of a Pope who was slain for his insufferable insolence and presumption."[a] It was resolved that the Earl of Mandeville, with Richard de Humet, justiciary of Normandy, and Seyer de Quinci, should be despatched into England with a warrant to arrest the Archbishop, and with orders, if possible, to overtake the four knights, whose absence from the Court had been remarked, and had excited a fear that they might be bent on some desperate design.[b] But this measure was too late.

On the morning after their arrival at Saltwood—Tuesday, the 29th of December—the knights, accompanied by Ranulf de Broc and others, set out for Canterbury. By the use of the King's name they added to their party a number of soldiers from the neighbouring castles, and the force was further increased by some retainers of St. Augustine's monastery, where they held a

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[a] Fitzst., 290-1. Was this Pope Lucius II., who was killed in chance-medley in 1145? This writer tells a story of a priest to whom a servant of the court made a confession as to an order for the Archbishop's death, written by Nigel de Sackville (277); and this is introduced into a note in Mr. Froude's volume, p. 539. But it is too absurd even for Mr. Buss to adopt (624); nay, Mr. Morris himself does not seem to vouch for it. 294.

[b] Fitzst., i. 291.

REMAINS OF THE ARCHBISHOP'S PALACE AT CANTERBURY.

From a Photograph by G. Austin.

consultation with the abbot Clarembald.[a] From the monastery they proceeded, with about twelve armed attendants, to the Archbishop's palace, while others of their followers were sent to the magistrates of the city with a command that all the inhabitants should repair in arms to the palace for the King's service. As, however, it became evident that the citizens were not disposed to aid them, the summons was exchanged for an order that no one should stir, whatever might be seen or heard.[b] It was about three o'clock in the afternoon[c] when the knights reached the palace, wearing their armour concealed under the ordinary dress of civil life. The Archbishop's dinner was over; but some of his retainers were still at table, and, on seeing them, offered them refreshment, which, says Grim, "they thirsting rather for blood, refused."[d] They were recognised by William Fitznigel, the Archbishop's seneschal, "a handsome cavalier, great and rich and well feoffed," as Garnier describes him, who, since the dinner was ended, had asked and obtained his master's leave to quit his service for that of the King.[e] On their expressing a wish to speak with the Archbishop, Fitznigel returned into the room which he had just left, and, without naming them, announced that four barons from the Court desired an audience in the King's name. He was desired to admit them forthwith; and they found Becket conversing with

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[a] Fitzst., 293-4; Joh. Sarisb., ii. 273, ed. Giles.

[b] Fitzst., 294; Garnier, 138.

[c] Gervase, 1415; Roger, i. 160. Others make the time later; but, as the day was Dec. 29, the earliest hour that is named will suit best with the story.

[d] 70.

[e] Garnier, 138.

some of his monks and clergy, as was his usual habit after dinner.[a]

It is said that from the beginning of the day he had shown a presentiment of evil. He had confessed with extraordinary contrition and devotion;[b] but neither his own forebodings nor the reports which he had received as to the arrival and proceedings of the knights in the town[c] could shake his resolution to abide what might be in store for him. At the moment of their entrance he was engaged in earnest conversation; nor did he become aware of their presence until, on turning round, he found them sitting on the floor close to his feet, and an archer, who had followed them, seated behind them. For some moments the Archbishop and his visitors remained gazing at each other without speaking a word; and on his at length greeting Tracy by name, there was still no answer, until Fitzurse replied, in a contemptuous and ironical tone, "God help thee!"[d] Once more the parties looked at each other in silence, which was at length broken by Fitzurse saying that he and his companions were charged with a message from the King, and asking whether the Archbishop would hear it privately or publicly. "Just as you please," was his answer. "Nay, at *your* pleasure," said the knights. "Nay, at yours," rejoined the Archbishop; and the scene of compliments became embarrassing[e] until, at the desire of John of Salisbury, the

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[a] Roger, 161.
[b] Anon. Lamb., 121.
[c] Fitzst. 291.
[d] Garnier, 139; Grim, 70; Roger, 161; Fitzst., 294.
[e] "Li bers respundi, 'tut à uostre talent.'
'Mais al uostre,' funt il. 'Mais as uoz,'
fait li ber.
Dunc en unt comencié entrels à estriuer."
Garnier, 139-140.

clergy were dismissed—the door, however, being left a-jar.[a] But when the knights had begun to state their business, the Archbishop desired that the clergy might be recalled, as such matters ought not to be discussed in private. One of the four is said to have afterwards confessed that, when left alone with him, they had thoughts of murdering him with the shaft of his crozier—which, as they had laid aside their offensive armour before entering, was the only weapon within reach.[b]

They remonstrated with great vehemence, in the King's name, against the Archbishop's late proceedings—his breach of the agreement which had been concluded with Henry—the censures which he had uttered on the prelates who had been concerned in the coronation, and which they represented as an attack on the younger King's sovereignty—the excommunication of the King's ministers and friends—his going about the country (as they asserted) with formidable troops of followers, and exciting the people to demonstrations which endangered the peace of the realm. "Our Lord the King," said Fitzurse, "charges you to go with all speed to his son the King, who is now on this side of the sea, to swear fealty to him, and make atonement for your offences against the King's Majesty."[c]

The Archbishop replied that, with the exception of the young King's father, there was no one who loved him more tenderly than himself; that, far from having any

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[a] Roger, 161; Bened., ii. 55.
[b] Grim, i. 71; Roger, i. 162; Bened., ii. 55-6; Garnier, 140.
[c] Bened., ii. 56.

thoughts against his royalty, he heartily wished that it were multiplied three or fourfold; that there was no just cause of offence in the peaceful welcome with which his retainers had received him, after six years of absence. If, he said, he had exceeded in anything, he was willing to answer for it, in court or elsewhere. As to the excommunication and suspension of the bishops, these were pronounced by the Pope, and his own part in them had been only instrumental; he had no jurisdiction over the Archbishop of York, but would absolve the Bishops of London and Salisbury, if they would humbly ask pardon and would give security to abide a trial, according to the canons; and he declared that, at the accommodation on St. Mary Magdalene's day, he had obtained the King's leave to punish those who had invaded his office. "What do you say?" exclaimed Fitzurse; "do you charge the King with such monstrous treachery as allowing you to suspend and excommunicate those whose share in his son's coronation was ordered by himself?" "Reginald," answered Becket, "I do not charge the King with treachery; but hundreds of prelates, nobles, and monks heard our agreement, and you yourself were one of them." "I neither was there, nor did I ever see or hear any such thing." "God knows," replied the Archbishop, "for I am certain that I saw you there." Fitzurse furiously swore that he had not been present, and all the knights exclaimed that the imputation on the King was not to be endured.[a] With regard to his lay retainers, the

[a] Bened., ii. 58-9; Garnier, 142.

Archbishop professed that he would do anything which could be reasonably asked of him; but that neither he nor any of his clerks should take any oath. "From whom is it that you hold your Archbishopric?" asked Fitzurse. "The spiritualities," he answered, "from God and the Pope; the temporalities from the King." "Do you not own that you hold all from the King?" "By no means; but we must render unto the King the things that are the King's, and unto God the things that are God's." On receiving this answer the knights started to their feet, gnashing their teeth, flashing fire from their eyes, tossing their gauntlets and waving about their arms, while the Archbishop also rose and confronted them. A confusion ensued, in which it was impossible to know distinctly what was said, or by whom. The Archbishop, in his turn, complained of the outrages which had been committed by the De Brocs and his other enemies; and, in answer to De Morville, who told him that he ought to have sought redress from the King, he said that complaints to the King were useless; he had been forbidden to approach the Court, and was determined to exert his own authority by unsparingly inflicting censures on all who should infringe the Church's rights. "These threats are too much!" exclaimed Fitzurse. The knights told him that the King commanded him to leave the kingdom, with his foreign clerks and all that belonged to him. He questioned whether they had the King's authority for this order; but declared that not even the King should again place the sea between him and his flock, unless he were forcibly dragged away by the feet; and at last, appealing to Fitzurse, Tracy, and Morville, he

reminded them that they had become his vassals in the days of his Chancellorship.[a]

At these words the fury of the knights burst through all restraint. "Thomas," said Fitzurse, "in the King's name I defy thee;" and the other three joined in the defiance. They charged the monks and the members of the Archbishop's household who had pressed into the room to prevent his escape until their return. Becket loudly declared that he would not for fear of any living man quit the spot where he was. "You cannot be more ready to strike than I to suffer!" he exclaimed; "foot to foot, you shall find me in the Lord's battle;" and he repeatedly pointed to his neck, in token of his willingness to die. As the knights rushed madly out, carrying with them the seneschal Fitznigel, the Archbishop followed them to the door. "Know," he cried, "that I did not come back to flee, and that I care little for your threats." "You will find that there is something else than threats," was the answer. He called on Hugh de Morville, who was the most distinguished in rank, to return and speak with him; but his words met with no attention.[b]

In proceeding to the palace, the knights had left the main body of their followers at a house opposite the gate. These were now called in, and, immediately after their admission, the gate was securely closed, although the wicket was still left open. The Arch-

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[a] Grim, 71-2; Roger, 163-4; Fitzst., 296; Bened., 58-61; Garnier, 141-2; Gervas., 1415.

[b] Grim, i. 72; Roger, i. 164; Fitzst., i. 297-8; Bened., ii. 62; Garnier, 143; Gervas., 1415.

bishop's porter was replaced by sentinels; Fitznigel, "at dinner the Archbishop's vassal and knight, but now against him,"[a] with a retainer of St. Augustine's, sat mounted in the Court before the wicket; and all possible care was taken to prevent any communication with the town. Fitzurse compelled one of the Archbishop's attendants to assist him in fastening his armour, and completed his equipment by snatching an axe from a carpenter who was engaged in repairing a wooden staircase.[b] In the mean time the Archbishop was endeavouring to assure his terrified clerks, "with a manner as calm," says Grim, "as if his murderers had come to bid him to a wedding."[c] John of Salisbury expostulated with him on his obstinate refusal of all advice, and on the violence which he had just exhibited towards men so lawless. He replied that his mind was made up as to the course which should be taken; and John could only observe in reply, "Would to God that it may be for good!" The conversation was interrupted by the entrance of some servants who cried out "My Lord, my Lord, they are arming!" "What matter?" the Archbishop calmly replied; "let them arm."[d] Speedily the blows of an axe were heard, as if the knights were endeavouring to break down the door of the hall, which during their absence had been locked; but it stoutly resisted their efforts. On this, Robert de Broc (who had become familiar with the intricacies of the palace while his brother held the custody

[a] Fitzst., 298. [b] Ib. [c] i. 73.
[d] Bened., 62-3; Roger, 164; Garnier, 143.

of it during the exile) undertook to show them another way; and by passing through an orchard, breaking down a partition, ascending a ladder, and creeping through a window, they gained admission into the cloisters. Terrified by the noise of the blows on the door, and afterwards by the crash of the partition, most of the monks and clergy had fled, and the Archbishop was left with but a few companions—among them the biographer Edward Grim, a young monk of Cambridge, who had arrived at Canterbury a few days before.[a] These earnestly urged him to take refuge in the church; but their entreaties, and even their representation that it was the hour of vespers, when his duty required him to attend the service, were ineffectual; thirsting for what he regarded as martyrdom, he wished to remain where he was, and insisted on the promise which he had given, that he would not flee. As his resolution appeared immoveable, his friends at length laid hands on him, compelled him to rise, and forcibly hurried him along. The orchard and the usual approach from the palace to the cathedral were guarded, so that it was necessary to take the way through the cloisters;[b] but before reaching these, two locked doors were to be passed. The lock of the first was easily wrenched off; as to the second, we are told by some writers that it fell off at the first touch, "as if it had only been glued to the door,"[c] while another writer accounts

[a] Garnier, 145.

[b] For the localities see Professor Stanley's 'Memorials,' and Professor Willis's 'Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral.'

[c] Grim, 75; Roger, 166; Garnier, 146.

for its removal without a miracle by saying that two cellarers, attracted by the noise, had run towards the door from the cloister side, and pulled off the lock from without.[a] The monks dragged, pushed, and partly carried the Archbishop along the northern and eastern sides of the cloister, while he struggled to get loose, reproached them for their fear, and vehemently desired them to unhand him. He twice gained his feet in the cloister, and once in the chapterhouse; on one of these occasions he refused to proceed unless his cross were carried before him; and the advance towards the church was delayed until Henry of Auxerre took his place as cross-bearer, in the stead of the absent Llewellyn.[b]

As the Archbishop entered the north transept of the cathedral, the knights were seen at the farther end of the cloister in pursuit of him. The vesper service had begun, when two boys ran wildly into the choir, "an-

[a] Bened., 64. "Benedict," says Professor Stanley, "knew nothing of the seeming miracle, as his brethren were ignorant of the timely interference of the cellarmen." (68.) But this attempt to reconcile the authorities is not quite satisfactory. It is hardly conceivable that among the monks of Christchurch, from whom both stories come, the natural as well as the miraculous account should not have been generally known. The lock, too, is represented as coming off on different sides, so that there would seem to have been some wilful fabling. Compare the earlier lock-miracle, p. 129.

[b] The narratives of Grim (73-5), Roger (166), Garnier (146), and Gervase (1416), who speak only of the forcible measures and of the struggle, are in remarkable disagreement with those of Herbert (329) and Fitzstephen (199), which would lead us to suppose that the Archbishop proceeded along the cloister slowly, and with the greatest composure, "like a good shepherd, driving all his sheep before him," and only once looking round to see whether the door through which he had passed had been shut again. Benedict, who harmonises these statements as far as possible, has been here chiefly followed.

nouncing," says William of Canterbury, "rather by their affright than by their words, that the enemies were about to break in."[a] On this the monks left the choir and hurried towards the transept, where they expressed great joy at seeing the Archbishop alive, as they had supposed him to have been already slain; but he ordered them to return to their proper place and resume their office, saying that otherwise he would again leave the church.[b] Perceiving that some of his followers were beginning to fasten the doors behind him, he charged them, on their obedience, to leave them open, declaring that God's house ought not to be turned into a fortress, but was sufficient for the protection of its own. "Let all come in who will," he said; and with his own hands he set the doors open, thrust back the crowd who pressed around, and drew in such of his own immediate followers as were still without in the cloister. At length he was forced away, just as the knights were about to enter; but, although he was urged to make his escape, and might easily have done so as night was coming on and the cathedral had many hiding-places and outlets, he absolutely refused to withdraw.[c]

The monks had hurried him up four of the steps which led to the choir, as if he were proceeding to the altar at which he usually heard the services of the Church,[d] when Fitzurse rushed in from the cloister, shouting out, "After me, King's men!" Close behind him came the other three, all, like himself, in complete

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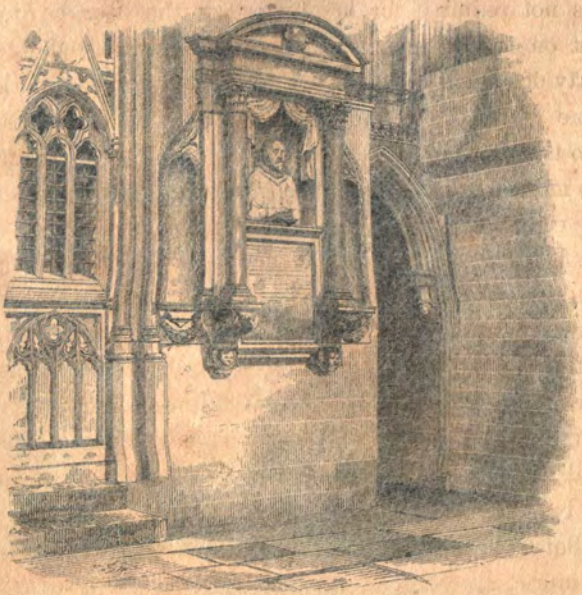
[a] 32.
[b] Garnier, 147.
[c] Grim, 75; Roger, 167; Fitzst., 300; Will. Cant., 32; Bened., 65; Garnier, 147, 153.
[d] Fitzst., 300.



NORTH-EAST TRANSEPT OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

The Scene of Becket's Murder. From a Photograph by G. Austin.

armour, except that Tracy, in order to be lighter, had left his hauberk behind;[a] Tracy, Morville, and Le Breton carrying battle-axes in their left hands, while Fitzurse still held the carpenter's hatchet, which, however, as it was not required for breaking open the door, he now cast on the pavement. The four were followed by a party of soldiers, more or less completely armed, and by some of the Canterbury people who had been pressed into the service.[b] As they entered, one of them charged the monks around him not to stir, and Fitzurse went to the right hand, while the others placed themselves on the left. "Where," cried Fitzurse, in the dimness of the faintly-lighted cathedral, "is the traitor Thomas Becket?" and, as no answer was vouchsafed to this question, he laid hold of a monk, and asked "Where is the Archbishop?" "Here am I," answered Becket; "no traitor, but a priest of God; if ye seek me, ye have found me. What would you have?"[c] At this, we are told by some of the biographers, eager to make out a parallel with the scene in the Garden of Gethsemane, the murderers stepped back for awe.[d] One of them, however, answered, "Flee; thou art a dead man!" "I will not flee," said Becket; "I do not fear your swords. In the Lord's name I welcome death for God and for the Church's freedom."[e] Descending from the step on which he stood, he placed himself with his back against a pillar[f] near the opening of a small chapel,

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[a] Garnier, 149.
[b] Fitzst., 300-1.
[c] Garnier, 147; Gervas., 1672.
[d] Fitzst., 301; Will. Cant., ii. 32.
[e] Herb., 331.
[f] Grim, 76; Garnier, 148. The pillar is now removed.

in which stood the altar of St. Benedict. The knights required him to absolve the excommunicated and suspended bishops. "Never," he replied, "will I absolve those who have not made satisfaction for their offences." "You are our prisoner," cried Fitzurse; "you shall come with us!" and the knights pressed closer to him, with the intention of placing him on the shoulders of Tracy, and so removing him from the church. "I will not go," he replied; "you shall do here what you wish and have been ordered to do; but in God's name, and under pain of anathema, I charge you to touch none of my people."[a] As Fitzurse laid hold of his pall, the Archbishop violently threw him off, and he afterwards seized Tracy, whom he shook with such force as to lay him on the ground.[b] "Reginald!" he cried to Fitzurse, "do not touch me; you owe me fealty," and he added the epithet "pander."[c] At this intolerable word the knight "became glowing all over"[d] with fury, and waved his sword over the Archbishop's head, exclaiming that he owed no fealty inconsistent with his duty to the King. The Archbishop then bowed his

[a] This charge is much dwelt on in the attempted parallel, as by Joh. Sarisb., in S. T. C., i. 336; Fitzst., 302; Grim, 76; Garnier, 148. But Herbert gives a characteristic touch of an opposite kind: "Nec enim tam orabat ut parcerent, quam anathematizabat eos, si non parcerent." (338.)

[b] Garnier, 148; Gervas., 1672.

[c] Roger, 167. Words of this kind appear to have risen very readily to Becket's lips in moments of violent excitement. We have already noted an instance in the case of Earl Hamelin at Northampton (p. 128). The epithet applied to Fitzurse was, indeed, the immediate cause of the murder; and, as the use of such language would have been fatal to the evangelical parallel, it is omitted by the majority of writers in Becket's interest, down to Mr. Buss (649).

[d] "Totus incanduit" (Grim, 76).

head and commended his cause to God and the Blessed Virgin, to the martyr Alphege, and the other tutelar saints of Canterbury, and to the martyr Denys, the patron of the kingdom which had sheltered him in his exile.[a] The monks and clergy had all fled at the beginning of the struggle, except the biographer Grim[b] and Robert of Merton, the Archbishop's confessor, with whose names Fitzstephen joins his own. While the knights were endeavouring to drag the Archbishop away, Grim had exerted all his strength in holding him back, and aiding him to resist their force, at the same time remonstrating with them on the ground of their own character and of the Archbishop's sacred office.[c] "Strike! strike!" cried Fitzurse to his companions, and with the point of his sword he dashed off the Archbishop's cap. Tracy then raised his sword, and Grim, wrapping his arm in a cloak, lifted it up to ward off the stroke; but the weapon almost severed the monk's arm, and, descending on the Archbishop's head, cut off the tonsured part of his crown,[d] which remained hanging

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[a] "Al martyr saint Denis, qui dulce France apent."—*Garnier*, 149.

Cf. Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 304; Fitzst., 300; Herb., 337; Roger, 167.

[b] "Le porte-croix Edouard Grim, le même qui avait parlé avec tant de franchise après la conférence de Clarendon." (Thierry, iii. 189.) We have already noticed this attempt to enforce the Saxon theory. (See Appendix XV.) M. Thierry's account of the murder is very incorrect; and it has been closely followed by M. Michelet.

[c] Garnier, 148.

[d] Grim, 76; Anon. Lambeth., 122-3; Garnier, 151. "It is a proof of the confusion of the scene that Grim, the receiver of the blow, as well as most of the narrators, believed it to have been dealt by Fitzurse, while Tracy, who is known to have been the man, from his subsequent boast [at Saltwood on the evening after the murder], believed that the monk whom he had wounded was John of Salisbury." [Garnier, 150.] Stanley, 76-7.

only by the skin to the scalp. Being thus disabled, Grim took refuge at the nearest altar, to which many others were already clinging in an extremity of terror. Fitzurse then let fall a heavy blow;[a] another blow from Tracy brought the Archbishop to his knees; and, as he fell, with his hands joined in prayer, repeating that he was ready to die for Christ and his Church, and commending his soul to God, Le Breton inflicted a fourth stroke, accompanying it with the words, "Take that for the sake of my Lord William, the King's brother!"[b] The sword cut off the remaining part of the tonsure, and lighted on the pavement with such force that its point was broken off. Throughout the terrible scene, Hugh de Morville—the highest in rank and the mildest in character of the four—had been employed in guarding against a rescue, which there was reason to apprehend, and did not strike the Archbishop.[c] When the deed was done, one Hugh Mauclerc, of Horsea, a sub-deacon attached to the household of the Brocs,[d] who had accompanied the murderers in a military dress, put his foot on the neck of the corpse, and, with the point of his sword drawing out the brains from the severed crown, scattered them on the pavement. "Let us be off, comrades," he cried; "this traitor will never rise again."[e]

The murderers rushed out of the church, shouting, "King's soldiers! King's men!"—a cry which they had repeatedly used in the course of the day, and which is

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[a] Garnier, 150.

[b] Fitzst., 203. See p. 254, note [d]. William, says Fitzstephen, "grieved inconsolably" for the thwarting of his love.

[c] Garnier, 151; Grim, 77.

[d] Garnier, 146. See Appendix XXVIII.

[e] Garnier, 151; Grim, 78; Fitzst. 303; Roger, 168.

said to have been customary on a battlefield after a victory.[a] On the way to the palace they found a French servant of the Archdeacon of Sens lamenting the Archbishop, and cruelly wounded him as they passed.[b] They hastily searched the palace, breaking open desks, presses, chests, and other repositories, and carrying off plate, money, jewels, vestments, and other valuable articles[c]—a plunder which the biographers compare to the act of those who cast lots for the Saviour's vesture, and endeavour to prove the worse of the two.[d] Two cilices which were found were thrown away as worthless; yet it is said that this evidence of the Archbishop's concealed mortifications produced a feeling of awe in the murderers, and that many of their followers exclaimed, "Certainly this was a righteous man!"[e]

All documents which seemed to be important were

[a] Gervase, 1416. "Insigne regium conclamantes" (Grim, 79). "Sicut in prælio fieri solet, in insignis victoriæ signum conclamabant, Regales milites, regales!" (Bened., 67). It was the English war-cry, as "Montjoye" was the French. (Matt. Paris, ap. Ducange, s. v. p. 660.) "Tracy, in a confession made long afterwards to Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter, said that their spirits, which had before been raised to the highest pitch of excitement, gave way when the deed was perpetrated, and that they retired with trembling steps, expecting the earth to open and swallow them up (Herb., 351). Such, however, was not their outward demeanour, as it was recollected by the monks of the place." Stanley, 79.

[b] Fitzst., 305.

[c] Among other things:—

"Sun bon cultel, qui ualeit une cit,
* * * *
E tuz ses beaubelez qu'il aveit fait guarder
E qu'il ne ueleit pas à tutes gens mustrer."

Garnier, 152, who is very particular on this part of the story. I do not know the meaning of "une cit," but Mr. Morris's explanation—"a knife that was worth a city's ransom" (333)—is clearly absurd.

[d] "Licet eos quodammodo præcedant in scelere." Joh. Sarisb., ii. 256, ed. Giles.

[e] Herb., 352.

given to Ranulf de Broc for transmission to the King—that thus the church of Canterbury might be deprived of any privileges inconsistent with the royal will;[a] and the spoliation was completed by carrying off the most valuable horses which were found in the stables.[b] On these the murderers made their way back to Saltwood for the night, leaving Robert de Broc in possession of the palace.

Amid the general consternation the Archbishop's body lay for a time entirely neglected, until his chamberlain Osbert procured a light and found it lying on the pavement. Osbert bound up the head with a piece of his own shirt; and, when the murderers were gone, a multitude of people flocked into the cathedral and gathered round the corpse, kissing the hands and feet, smearing their eyes with the blood, dipping their garments in it, and each endeavouring to secure some relic of the saint.[c] "His pall and outer pelisse," says Benedict, "stained as they were with his blood, were, with a somewhat inconsiderate piety, bestowed on the poor, for the good of his soul; and happy would the receivers have been had they not forthwith thoughtlessly sold them, preferring the little money which they fetched."[d]

After a time the monks turned out the crowd and shut the doors of the cathedral. The scattered brains were carefully collected into a basin, and benches were set around the place of the martyrdom, in order to protect it from being trodden on.[e] On raising the body, a

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[a] Bened., 68.
[b] Fitzst., 308.
[c] Roger, 168; Fitzst., 308; Herb., 357.
[d] ii. 69.
[e] Fitzst., 309.

hammer and the axe which Fitzurse had thrown down were found below it—a circumstance from which Benedict extracts a mystical allusion to the saint's efficiency as a "hammer of evil doers."[a] The corpse was placed in front of the high altar, and the monks spent the night in watching around it with sorrow and anxiety. Then it was that the aged Robert of Merton, the instructor of Becket's early years, who, ever since his consecration, had been his confessor and inseparable companion, thrust his hand into the bosom and drew out the shirt of hair which had been worn in secret. The monks lifted up their voices in admiration of this proof of a sanctity beyond what they had suspected, and which many of them had until then been disposed to doubt; and already they bestowed on the "martyr" the title of *Saint*.[b]

In the morning an armed force appeared in the neighbourhood of the city. Robert de Broc, in the name of his brother Ranulf, threatened that the body should be exposed to indignities unless it were buried at once and without ceremony; and he forbade the publication of the miracles by which it had already begun to be distinguished.[c] The monks in haste proceeded to the funeral rites. Although some were of opinion that a body which had so long been purified by fasting and discipline required no further cleansing than that of its own blood, they proceeded to strip it for the customary ablution:[d]

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[a] 68.

[b] Fitzst., 308; Herb., 360.

[c] Joh. Sar., ii. 256, ed. Giles; Garnier, 154-5.

[d] Bened., 69; Fitzst., 309; Herb., 350. One writer says that the body was washed; another, that it was not. Diceto suggests the middle statement in the text.

and in so doing they discovered fresh evidences of holiness; for not only was the shirt made of hair, but the tight and galling drawers also—a mortification, it is said, without example among English saints;[a] and these garments were filled with innumerable vermin, "so that any one," says Grim, "would think that the martyrdom of the preceding day was less grievous than that which these small enemies continually inflicted."[b] And thus, on the day after his murder, the body of Archbishop Thomas was buried by the Cistercian abbot of Boxley, before the altars of St. John and St. Augustine in the crypt of his cathedral.[c]

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[a] Joh. Sarisb., ii. 257, ed. Giles; Bened., ii. 70. As to the other clothes, see Gervase, 1673; Garnier, 155; Grim, 82; Fitzst., 309.

[b] 82. See above, p. 50; and comp. Anon. Lamb., 126.

[c] Joh. Sarisb., ii. 257, ed. Giles.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SEQUEL.

In the times which we are now required to venerate as "The Ages of Faith," the murder of a prelate was nothing very uncommon. Thus in the year 1082, Walcher, a native of Lorraine, and Bishop of Durham, was murdered by his rebellious flock.[a] In 1113, Waldric, Bishop of Laon, one of Becket's predecessors in the Chancellorship of England, was slain by the populace of his city; his head was cleft with an axe, the finger adorned by the episcopal ring was hewn off, his lifeless body was covered with wounds, stripped naked, and exposed to innumerable insults, and lay unburied, like that of a dog, until the "scholastic" of his cathedral, the famous teacher Anselm,[b] charitably committed it to the ground, but without venturing to solemnize the burial by any religious office.[c] In 1145, Pope Lucius II.

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[a] Will. Malmesb., c. 271, in Patrol., clxxix. 1250.

[b] Anselm of Laon, a pupil of his namesake the Archbishop of Canterbury, is, perhaps, most known by his connexion with the history of Abelard. He had been alone in opposing the election of Waldric to the bishopric. See Guibert. Novig. de Vita sua, iii. 4 (in Patrol. clvi.)

[c] Ib., 8-10. In consequence of an erroneous reading in the old edition of Orderic — *Landavensis* instead of *Laudunensis*—Dr. Lingard (ii. 14) and others have supposed Waldric to have been Bishop of *Llandaff*. See n. on Orderic, in Patrol. clxxxviii. 815.

was killed in attempting to dislodge the republican faction of Rome from the Capitol. In 1160, Arnold, Archbishop of Mentz, Primate of Germany, and Chancellor of the empire, was murdered by a mob, and the indignities offered to his corpse were even more revolting than those which had been inflicted on Waldric.[a] And in some chronicles of the time[b] the next event which is recorded after the murder of Becket is that of an Archbishop of Tarragona. Yet these and many other such cases have long passed away from the memory of men, nor, even in their own day, did they excite any wide-spread interest or emotion.

But the shock of Becket's death thrilled at once through Latin Christendom, and to this day the murder, under whatever colouring it may be represented, remains among the most conspicuous facts in history. Throughout his contest with Henry, the eyes of all men had been fixed on him; and while, in his own country, opinions were divided as to the merits of his cause and of his conduct, the sympathy with him elsewhere (except, indeed, among the Imperialist and Antipapal party, and among the Cardinals who were won by Henry's gold) was enthusiastic and universal. Nothing was known of the question as to the immunity of criminal clerks; the assertion by which the Archbishop's partisans endeavoured to veil the real nature of the quarrel —that Henry meditated an entire usurpation of ecclesiastical power—was not only believed as a suspicion, but

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[a] Chron. Mogunt. ap. Urstis. i. 571; Raumer, Gesch. der Hohenstaufen, ii. 176-7.

[b] *E. g.*, Diceto, 556.

was supposed to have been already realised in act.[a] And the feeling of sympathy was powerfully aided by political enmity against Henry. Princes who had themselves been seriously embroiled with the hierarchy—who had bestowed sees in contempt of the right of election, who had seized ecclesiastical property, had driven bishops into banishment, and incurred the heavy censures of the Church—were ready to support the champion of the most extravagant hierarchical pretensions in opposition to a brother sovereign whom they dreaded and envied as the richest and strongest potentate in Europe.[b] Nor, in accounting for the favour which Becket found among the inferior classes of his own countrymen, must we overlook the operation of similar motives. Fanciful as the theory is which would explain his whole history as a struggle between a dominant and a subjugated race, there can yet be no doubt that discontent with the government, the sense of oppression, the pains of distress, and other such causes must have disposed multitudes to

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[a] See p. 142. So the Chronicle of Melrose says (A.D. 1164) that Thomas fled from England, "ob intolerabiles ecclesiæ a rege illatas injurias;" and one of the continuers of Sigebert of Gemblours,—"Heinricus, supra quod dicitur Deus aut quod colitur efferatus et in superbiam elatus, ... contra jus et fas omnem dignitatem et ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ censuram violenter sibi usurpat." (Patrol., clx. 382.) The strength of the prejudice which was felt in France against Henry is thus expressed by John of Salisbury, in a letter of 1167: "Nihil adeo impium est in Deum, in homines inhumanum, quod Franci et Latini de eo facilius non credant." (Ep. 184.)

[b] See Louis' speech to Mapes, p. 140, n. [b]; and the extract given in the same note from a letter of John of Salisbury to Becket, written soon after John's going abroad in 1163.

follow any one who, whether in the name of the Church or otherwise, rose up in opposition to the King.

The violent end of a man who had for years been so conspicuous, and in whose behalf so much of feeling had been enlisted, could not but excite universal horror and indignation. It was described as the blackest deed since the Crucifixion—nay, as even worse than that awful crime, inasmuch as it had been perpetrated, not by Jews or heathens, but by persons professing the Christian faith.[a] The circumstances of it were dwelt on as heightening its atrocity, and for the same purpose exaggeration and misrepresentation were largely employed. The Archbishop, it was said, had been murdered in violation of the sanctity of a church—his own cathedral, the mother Church of all England, a place hallowed by the possession of innumerable precious relics.[b] The sword of a murderer had cut off the crown which was consecrated by the priestly unction and tonsure. The accursed act had been committed within the season dedicated to the Saviour's birth, with its message of "peace on earth;" the blood of the innocent had been shed on the morrow of those holy Innocents who glorified God by their martyrdom in infancy.[c] As the real ground of his contest with the King had throughout been put out of sight, so now it was forgotten that the immediate cause for which he fell was but a quarrel as to the privileges of Canterbury and York,[d] and he was represented as

[a] Grim, 78.
[b] Chron. Mailros. A.D. 1171.
[c] Ib., 79; Wendover, ii. 363.
[d] "Hæc fuit vera et unica causa aut occasio necis S. Thomæ," says Goussainville, n. on Pet. Bles., Ep. 22.

having died in the great cause of the Church. His murder—the act of men who had of themselves undertaken their enterprise in consequence of some passionate words, and whose intention, seemingly, was nothing more than to arrest the Archbishop, until his defiant behaviour and intolerable language excited them to uncontrollable fury—was assumed to have been expressly authorized by the King with whom he had so long contended.[a] All that was violent in his closing scene was unmentioned;[b] the saint was believed to have meekly met his death while engaged in devotion at the altar;[c] nor, it was said, could any martyrdom be found which so closely resembled the Saviour's passion.[d]

Immediately after the murder, miracles began. A violent storm of thunder and lightning raged, floods of rain descended, and when these cleared off, the sky was overspread by a redness—probably an aurora borealis[e]—which was interpreted as signifying the wrath and the vengeance of heaven on account of the blood which had been shed.[f] As the monks were watching around the bier, before the high altar, it is said that the martyr

[a] Helinand (Patrol. ccxii. 1070) attributes the murder to Henry's refusal of the pax. (See pp. 248-9.) Chron. Mailros. A.D. 1171.—"A domesticis et sceleratissimis baronibus et detestandis militibus regis .... sæviente regis ira, et longe magis dissimili et sceleratiore modo quam Herodis in Jesum, vel secundi in Johannem Baptistam," &c.; and the writer prays for vengeance on all concerned in the murder. Chron. Aquicinct. (*i. e.*, of the monastery of Anchin, near Douay).—"Henricus rex pro interfectione D. Thomæ ab omnibus, ut apostata vilissimus, exosus habetur." A.D. 1171. (Patrol. clx.)

[b] See, *e. g.*, Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 304, and an anonymous letter to the Pope, in Foliot, Ep. 500. Cf. Gervas., 1417.

[c] See Append. XXIX.

[d] Bened., ii. 71.

[e] Stanley, 83. [f] Fitzst., 304.

lifted up his right hand, in the dim light of daybreak, and gave the pastoral benediction.[a] The blind and the lame, the deaf, the dumb, the palsied, the sick of every kind, were cured at the grave where his remains were laid; even members which had been cut off were restored by his miraculous power;[b] and the prohibition to publish these wonders served only to add to their fame. The martyrdom was revealed on the same day to the saintly hermit Godric, at Finchal, in Durham;[c] and at Jerusalem a holy monk, who had died on that day, soon after appeared to the abbot of his house, and assured him that not only was Thomas martyred, but that he had been raised to a degree of heavenly glory equal with that of St. Peter himself.[d] Other visions also attested his glory and the power of his merits. To Herbert of Bosham he appeared in a dream, and expressed regret that his faithful follower had not been present at the martyrdom. "My Lord," said Herbert, "I am a sinful man, and, if I had been slain, I should have perished." "No," replied the saint, "for thou wouldest have been baptized in my blood."[e] And to a monk of his cathedral, named Thomas, he declared "I

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[a] Hoveden, 299. This miracle is mentioned in Hoveden's version of the first letter written by William of Sens to the Pope after the murder (ib. 300); but the passage seems to be an interpolation. (See Brial, 467.) Another account represents the whole body as having raised itself up. S. T. C., ii. 156.

[b] Grim, 80; Fitzst., 311; Joh. Sarisb., ii. 255, ed. Giles; Gervas., 1297, 1417.

[c] Hoved., 299. That Godric had been dead some months before (Wendover, ii. 341; Pagi, in Baron. xix. 363) is a circumstance of no importance in such a story.

[d] Herb., vii. 354; cf. Rob. Glouc., 118.

[e] Herb., vii. 341.

have done so much, that the names of my monks, and of the clerks who are connected with them, are written in the book of life."[a] Soon after the murder, John of Salisbury is found writing to ask the Bishop of Poitiers whether, since God had so amply warranted for Thomas the character of a martyr by miracles, it were lawful to venerate him as such without waiting for the formal authorization of the Pope.[b]

Both among the friends and among the enemies of Henry the tidings of the murder excited the strongest sensation. The monks of Grammont, who were bound to him by especial favours, heard with dismay that the patron who had founded churches for them had violated the sanctity of the church of Canterbury; they strove to disbelieve the guilt which the highest members of the French hierarchy confidently imputed to him. The Abbot of Grammont suspended the building of the abbey-church, which was proceeding at Henry's expense, until the truth of the matter should be ascertained; and Bernard de la Coudre, the Grandimontan who had been employed in one of the papal commissions, addressed to the King a letter of sorrowful reproof and admonition. "You promised," he says, "to give the Archbishop the second place in your kingdom,

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[a] Gervas., 1418.

[b] Ep. 304, fin. It was in the very year of Becket's death that Alexander III. had declared, "Although miracles be done by one, it is not lawful to reverence him as a saint without the sanction of the Roman Church." (Alex. ap. Gregor. IX., Decretal. xlv. i.) John of Salisbury would seem not to have been aware of this decree, the first by which canonization was exclusively reserved to the Pope.

provided only that he would show you an appearance of humility before your people. He has done a hundred times what you required, and he lies in the heart of the earth!" Bernard tells the King, that if the murderers were sent by him, he too was a partaker in their crime, but expresses a belief that he was incapable of designing so foul a deed; and he concludes by exhorting Henry to repentance, and by assuring him that the Order of Grammont is awaiting the change with prayers and groaning, in sackcloth and ashes.[a]

On the other hand, Henry's enemies were eager to take advantage of the occasion by clamouring for vengeance against him. Alexander the Welshman and Gunther the Fleming, whom Becket had despatched to the Pope on St. John the Evangelist's Day, were overtaken at Sens by the report of their master's death, and they carried onwards a letter from Archbishop William, which is the earliest in date of all the extant narratives. In this, and in another letter which followed, the Archbishop, without hesitation, attributes the murder to the "tyrant" of England, whom he declares to be worse than Ahab, Nero, and Herod, than the apostate Julian, and the traitor Judas. He charges as accomplices the "arch-devil" Roger of York, with the "apostate and pretended" Bishops of London and Salisbury; he relates the story of the murder with the exaggerations on one side and the suppressions on the other which have been already mentioned; and he exhorts the Pope to rouse

[a] Brial, 470-5.

himself as a "son of the shaken out;"[a] to deal like another Elias with the guiltier than Ahab.[b] Theobald, Count of Blois and nephew of King Stephen, also caught eagerly at the opportunity of gratifying the enmity which he habitually concealed under a pretence of regard for Henry.[c] "The innocent lamb," he wrote to the Pope, "has suffered martyrdom on the morrow of the Holy Innocents. His righteous blood has been shed where the viaticum of our salvation was wont to be offered. The dogs of the Court, the familiars and domestics of the King of England, have acted as his instruments. . . . . To you the blood of the righteous man and martyr of God cries, and demands revenge. May the Almighty and merciful God put into your heart the will, and suggest the means, of a vengeance adequate to the crime!"[d] And to the same purpose King Louis addressed Alexander, desiring that the sword of Peter might be unsheathed in behalf of the martyr of Canterbury, whose blood required vengeance, not so much for himself as for the universal Church.[e]

The famous saying, "It was worse than a crime—it was a blunder," conveys, under the form of bitter irony and sarcasm, the truth that a great public crime may be even more impolitic than wicked; and if ever the words were applicable in this sense, they might have been applied to the part which Henry was supposed to have taken in the death of Becket. Since the recon-

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[a] See Appendix XVI.
[b] Epp. 330-1.
[c] Bened. Petrib., Vita Henr. II., ed. Hearne.
[d] Ep. 356.
[e] Fol., Ep. 503.

ciliation, each of the parties had beset the Pope with complaints against the other. While the Archbishop represented that his possessions had not been restored to him, and on the very day of the murder a letter was addressed by Alexander to Henry, urging the fulfilment of the treaty in this and other respects,[a] the King alleged that the Papal commissioners had not carried out their promise as to the absolution of those who were before excommunicate, and that the Archbishop had violated the agreement by inflicting fresh censures on the Bishops of London and Salisbury.[b] But the tidings of the murder overwhelmed all other subjects. Henry could not but feel the prodigious difficulties into which he was plunged by the rash and violent act of his courtiers. He knew that the guilt would be universally charged on him, and that his enemies were now armed with a fearful weapon against him. He foresaw the eagerness with which they would take advantage of it; that the highest censures of the Church, with their terrible secular consequences, were inevitable, that his long struggle with the hierarchy must end in utter defeat, unless he could purge himself of the crime and propitiate the Roman Court. On receiving the news at Argentan, he burst forth into lamentations over the Archbishop's death as the most grievous calamity which could have befallen him; for three days he shut himself up in his chamber without tasting food, and for forty

[a] Ap. Thom., Ep. 308. The date is taken from Jaffé.
[b] Ap. Fol., Epp. 490-1.

days he remained in penitential seclusion, abstaining from all public business.[a] Even as to the murderers he knew not what to do. To leave them unpunished would countenance the rumours which charged him with having instigated their crime; to punish his supposed instruments would not dissipate the suspicions, but would be regarded as a further and detestable wickedness.[b] In these circumstances, speedy action was necessary in order to counteract the general obloquy. He therefore sent some clerks to Canterbury for the purpose of explaining that, although the murderers had undertaken their expedition in consequence of words which had escaped him in his excitement, he was innocent of having authorised them, and had endeavoured to prevent the execution of their suspected design;[c] and he despatched to Italy an embassy, consisting of the Archbishop of Rouen (who, however, was obliged by age and infirmity to turn back), with the Bishops of Worcester and Evreux and other ecclesiastics. These envoys were charged with a letter, in which the King protested that he had fulfilled his part of the treaty; that Becket had broken it by stirring up his subjects against him and groundlessly excommunicating his servants; that he deeply regretted the murder and the share which his own angry words might have had in suggesting it; but that he was less distressed as to his conscience than as to his reputation.[d]

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[a] Arnulf, Ep. 55; Herb., viii. 34; Quadril. II., in S. T. C., 201, 204.

[b] W. Neubrig. ii. 25, p. 157. They were left to ecclesiastical penance. See above, p. 82.

[c] S. T. C., ii. 202.

[d] Patrol., cc. 1388; Hoved., 301.

At the time when the news of the murder reached the Papal Court at Tusculum, some envoys from the King of England were there for the purpose of soliciting the absolution of the bishops, and it appeared as if, by the expenditure of five hundred marks, they had secured the object of their mission. But the arrival of the dreadful tidings suddenly interrupted the negotiation. For eight days the Pope secluded himself even from his usual companions, and in remorse (it is said) for the slackness with which he had supported the Church's champion, devoted himself to fasting and prayer.[a] Yet, although this remorse may have been sincere, a man so sagacious as Alexander cannot have failed to discern the immense advantage which he might derive from the crime of Fitzurse and his accomplices. A restless, importunate, querulous ally, whose objects were far from coinciding with his own, from whose reckless impetuosity he had always reason to dread some outbreak which might destroy his own finer and more widely-reaching policy, was now at once changed into a martyr and a saint. The death of Thomas of Canterbury gave lustre to the cause which he had espoused in the division of the Papacy, and at once it was argued that his miracles confirmed it by the testimony of heaven.[b] *His* friends were exalted, his adversaries were covered with confusion. The Pope had only to boast of him, to identify the enemies of

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[a] Fol., Ep. 469; Gervas., 1419; Vita Alex. in Patrol. cc. 37.

[b] Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 306.

Thomas with his own, to use the unexpected strength which had thus accrued to his cause.

In the first excitement produced by the report of the Archbishop's end, the negotiations with Henry's envoys were broken off, and it was ordered that no one from England should be admitted to the Pope's presence.[a] Richard Barre, who had been sent forward by the ambassadors despatched after the murder, was unable, on reaching Tusculum, to obtain an audience, and found no one to show him countenance or favour. The Abbot of Wallasey and others, who followed somewhat later, having with difficulty escaped from the robber soldiery by whom the main roads were beset, were received on their arrival by some cardinals, but with an ominous coldness of looks and scantiness of words. The King's emissaries were zealously opposed at the court by Alexander Llewellyn and Gunther;[b] and it was said that on Maunday Thursday, a day on which anathemas and absolutions were usually pronounced, the Pope would excommunicate the King of England by name, would confirm the late Primate's sentences, and would interdict all Henry's dominions. By great urgency the Abbot of Wallasey and the Archdeacon of Lisieux obtained an audience; but, immediately on uttering their Sovereign's name, they were silenced by a general exclamation of "Forbear! forbear!" as if the Pope could not even endure to hear it. At length, however, by the application of the means which were usually most effectual in the Roman Court, the ambassadors procured admittance to Alex-

[a] Fol., Ep. 469.

[b] S. T. C., vi. 200.

ander's presence, where they swore that the King was innocent of all concern in the murder, and that he would abide the papal judgment. A similar oath was taken by some clerks on the part of the Archbishop of York and of the Bishops of London and Salisbury; and the curses of Maunday Thursday, on which this interview took place, were limited to the actual perpetrators of the deed, with their advisers and abettors.[a]

It was not until after Easter that the most dignified members of the mission, the Bishops of Worcester and Evreux, arrived; and, after having been detained for more than a fortnight, they were dismissed with an answer less favourable than they had expected. The Archbishop of Sens, who, in conjunction with the Archbishop of Rouen, had been authorised to interdict Henry's continental dominions if the King should refuse to satisfy Becket's demands,[b] had proceeded, on hearing of the murder, to pronounce the sentence, in defiance of his colleague's remonstrances, as either of the commissioners was empowered to act in case of the other's unwillingness; and, although Rotrou publicly declared his disapproval of this step, on the ground that Henry offered to satisfy justice,[c] the Pope confirmed the interdict,[d] as well as the excommunication and suspension of the English bishops, and ordered that the King should refrain from entering a church. Two cardinals were to be sent into Normandy for the purpose of inquiry,

Jan. 1171.

[a] Fol., Epp. 440, 469; Diceto, 556; Gervas., 469.

[b] Alex. ap. Thom., Ep. 263. See above, p. 251.

[c] Brial, 477; Will. Senon., ap. Thom., Ep. 331.

[d] Alex. ad Archiep. Turon., Ep. 790, May 14 (Patrol. cc.); Fol., Ep. 469; Bromton, 1066.

and all that the English ambassadors were able to obtain, by a large expenditure of money, was a permission that, if the legates delayed their journey, the Bishops of London and Salisbury should be absolved from excommunication, although they were still to remain suspended.[a] By virtue of this, Foliot was released from his excommunication in the beginning of August.[b] Roger of York was absolved from his suspension on St. Nicholas' day (Dec. 6), on swearing that he had not received the Pope's letter prohibiting the coronation, that he had not bound himself to the Constitutions, and that he had in no way contributed to the death of Becket;[c] and in May, 1172, Foliot, on taking a similar oath, was restored to the full rights of his episcopate.[d]

Henry, without waiting for the arrival of the Pope's legates in Normandy, crossed over into England in the month of August, and landed at Southampton. At Winchester he visited the Bishop, Henry, who was then on his deathbed, and it is said that the old man reproved him severely for his concern in the murder of Becket, and foretold that he would suffer many calamities in expiation of it.[e] After having renewed his measures of precaution against the introduction of dangerous documents into England,[f] the King passed into Ireland, where he spent the winter in endeavouring to secure for his crown the completion of the conquest which had been

[a] Fol., Ep. 469; Alex. ib. Ep. 336.

[b] Diceto, 557.

[c] Ib. 557, Alex. ap. Thom., Ep. 259. Roger's letter on his absolution (Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 307) is characteristic and curious.

[d] Diceto, 560.

[e] Ib., 557.

[f] Bromton, 1069. See Herb., Epp. 34, 39.

undertaken by English adventurers. For twenty weeks all communication with England or the continent was cut off—it was said, by the violence of the winds;[a] but it has been suspected that Henry's dread of papal censures was not without influence in producing this suspension of intercourse.[b] At length, on being informed that the cardinals had arrived in Normandy, he embarked at Cork on Easter-day, and, after a hurried journey from Milford Haven to Portsmouth, appeared in Normandy with a suddenness which made King Louis exclaim that his brother of England flew rather than travelled on horseback or on shipboard.[c] After several interviews with the legates, Albert of St. Laurence in Lucina (afterwards Pope Gregory VIII.), and Theotwin of St. Vitalis, terms of peace with the Church were concluded at Avranches on Sunday, the 21st of May. The King —of his own accord, as the legates report[d]—swore on the Gospels that he had neither devised, nor authorised, nor been privy to, the murder of Becket; but that the tidings of it afflicted him as if it had been the death of his own son. As, however, he admitted that his words might have given occasion for the crime, he promised to maintain for a year two hundred knights for the defence of the Holy Land; to serve for three years against the infidels, either in the East or in Spain, unless excused by the Pope;[e] to allow appeals to Rome—a con-

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[a] Diceto, 559.
[b] Lingard, ii. 192.
[c] Diceto, 560; Bromton, 1079.
[d] vi. 123.
[e] He was afterwards excused from the crusade by promising to found monasteries. How he contrived to do this without putting himself to costs, see Girald. Cambr. de Instit. Principum.

cession, however, which was clogged with conditions which greatly affected its value;[a] to give up all such customs prejudicial to the Church as had been introduced in his own time—a clause which virtually left open the question which had been so long and so violently agitated;[b] to restore the possessions of the Church of Canterbury as they had been a year before the late Primate's exile; to receive into favour and to reinstate in their property all who had suffered for adherence to Becket. The younger Henry joined in such of these engagements as were not personal to his father; and both father and son swore never to forsake Alexander or his successors so long as these should acknowledge them as Catholic Kings.[c] On these terms Henry was absolved, to the great dissatisfaction of his enemies, who considered that he had been too leniently dealt with.

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[a] See Planck, IV., i. 424.

[b] Lingard, ii. 192.

[c] Fol., Epp. 385, 387-8; Diceto, 560; Bromton, 1081; Bened. Vita Henr., ed. Hearne, 34-6. In the oath, as given by Alexander's biographer (Patrol., cc. 38), the last clause runs thus:—"Juramus quod a domino Alexandro papa, et ejus Catholicis successoribus, recipiemus et tenebimus regnum Angliæ, et nos et nostri successores in perpetuum non reputabimus nos Angliæ reges veros, donec ipsi nos Catholicos reges tenuerint." Hence Dr. Lingard infers that the kings took an oath of feudal subjection to the Pope; and, as the clause does not appear so in any of the letters written on the occasion, he supposes that it was one of the things which the legates say that Henry promised "de libera voluntate gerenda, quæ non oportet scripturæ serie denotare." (S. T. C., vi. 124; Ring., ii. 191.) Even if the words were genuine, it might be argued (with Dr. Pauli, iii. 103) that they relate not to feudal subjection, but to the question of Pope and Antipope. But the truth seems to be, as Gieseler suggests (II., ii. 93), that they were part of the papal draft only, and that, in the oath actually taken, the simple promise of adhesion to Alexander was substituted.

King Louis was so indignant with the legates on this account, that he refused them permission to spend the winter in France.[a]

The displays of Becket's miraculous power became continually more remarkable. "At first," says Gervase, "miracles were done around his tomb, then through the whole of the crypt, then through the whole cathedral, then throughout all Canterbury, then throughout all England, then throughout Normandy, France, Germany, and, in short, through the whole Church of Christ which is spread throughout the world. And, that he might the more fully confirm, by renewing them, the ancient miracles of the saints, which had in some measure been blotted out from men's hearts through unbelief, he at first, as if by way of prelude, began with moderate miracles, and so, ascending by little and little, as the fame of his sanctity increased, he arrived at the highest, and in a short time ran through all the wonderful deeds of the Gospel and of the Apostles. Thus, as a good householder, did he bring forth from his good treasure things new and old for almost all who piously desired them, working new things in our eyes, and by this newness also confirming the old things."[b] All the superstitions which in the middle ages were connected with reverence for the saints gathered around this new hero. Herbert, shortly after the murder, mentions that a late member of the Archbishop's household, "a man who is

[a] Chron. Aquicinct., A.D. 1172. (Patrol. clx.) See Pet. Bles., Patrol., cvii. 203.

[b] Gerv., 1297. Wendover says that not only men and women, "sed etiam aves et animalia," were restored to life by his power (ii. 365).

certainly the dwelling-place of sin and of all lying and craftiness," was making a trade of exhibiting through France some pretended relics of the martyr;[a] and pilgrims from all quarters and of every rank flocked to Canterbury, enriching the Church with their gifts. In the beginning of Lent, 1173, the Pope, at the request of the French clergy and people, pronounced the canonization of St. Thomas, and ordered that the day of his death should be celebrated as his festival.[b]

Those who had opposed him in his life found themselves obliged to give way to the general feeling: they celebrated his sanctity and miracles, founded churches in his honour,[c] and joined the throngs which crowded to his shrine.[d] Among all these pilgrimages the most memorable was that which Henry himself performed in July, 1174. Like the fourth Henry of Germany, the King had found that his sons were armed against him under the pretence of religion. "Such as he had been towards his spiritual father," says a writer of the opposite party, "such he found his sons after the flesh to be towards himself."[e] Supported by the King of France and by other potentates whose political enmity against Henry had before allied them with the hierarchy, the eldest prince—the same whose coronation had given rise

[a] Herb., Ep. 34. See Petr. Cellens., Ep. 150.

[b] Alex., Epp. 1021, 1023-5; Vita Alex., 38 (Patrol. cc.).

[c] Thus R. de Luci dedicated Lesnes Abbey to St. Thomas; and see Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 314, as to Richard of Ilchester.

[d] Vita Alex., 38.

[e] Girald. de Inst. Princ., 39. The rebellion of the King's sons is said to have been revealed to Becket during his lifetime. (Herb., viii. 46.)

to the final quarrel with Becket—now professed himself the avenger of the martyr's death, which his father had neglected to punish, and the vindicator of the Church's liberties, which his father had violated.[a] In the extremity of distress to which he was reduced by the rebellion of his sons, and the attacks of his other enemies, Henry, at the suggestion of his confessor, resolved to undertake a penitential pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas the Martyr; and his reconciliation with heaven was believed to be shown by the coincidence that, on the same day when he prayed, fasted, watched, and submitted to flagellation at Canterbury, the fleet with which his son had intended to invade England was scattered by a tempest, and the King of Scots, who had advanced as far as Alnwick, was there defeated and taken prisoner.[b] "So," says Daniel, "ended this tedious business, that made more noise in the world than any that he had, and bowed him more: being his ill fortune to grapple with a man of that free resolution as made his sufferings his glory; had his ambition beyond this world; set up his rest not to yield to a King; was only engaged to his cause; had opinion and belief to take his part. Which so much prevailed, as the King, seeking to master him, advanced him; and now he is fain to kneel and

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[a] See his letter to the Pope, in Bial, 643-8.

For the details of Henry's pilrimage, see Professor Stanley's 'Memorials;' Garnier, 159; Rob. de Monte, Patrol., clx. 520; Diceto, 576; Gaufrid. Vosiens. in Rec. des Hist., xii. 443; Herb. viii. 44; Trivet, 78, &c. For the account of his receiving the tidings from Alnwick, Jordan Fantosme, in Stevenson's Church Historians of England (iv. 286).

pray to his shrine whom he had disgraced in his person; and, having had him above his will whilst he lived, hath him now over his faith, being dead."[a]

Yet, although Henry might have seemed to be at the feet of the clergy, the victory was not wholly with them. He had professed, after his interview with Albert and Theotwin at Avranches, to grant the liberty of canonical election to bishoprics and abbacies;[b] but while the form of an election was observed, he contrived to sway it in favour of his own nominees. If Becket had lived longer, a scheme which the King had formed for filling up the vacant sees by summoning six of the clergy from each, and compelling them to elect a bishop in his own presence, would have produced a fresh dissension;[c] but now, not only were the new bishops virtually appointed by the King, but among the first of them were the very persons who had been his most zealous and indefatigable agents in the late contest, the especial objects of the murdered Primate's denunciations. John of Oxford became Bishop of Norwich, Richard of Ilchester Bishop of Winchester,[d] and Geoffrey Ridel Bishop of Ely; and these three continued to be among the King's most confidential counsellors.[e] Reginald, Archdeacon of Salis-

[a] 'The Collection of the Hist. of England, by S. D.' [The poet Daniel.] Lond. 1626. (The passage in the original relates to the scene at Avranches.) "Illud quoque noveritis," writes Peter of Blois to the Archbishop of Palermo, "dominum regem gloriosum martyrem in omnibus angustiis suis patronum habere præcipuum," Ep. 66.

[b] Fol., Ep. 489.

[c] Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 300; Diceto, 554.

[d] John of Salisbury highly cries up Richard. (Ep. 313-4-5.)

[e] In 1179 they were appointed to administer the office of Chief Justiciary, which had become vacant by the retirement of Richard

bury, and son of the excommunicated Bishop of that see, was appointed Bishop of Bath and Wells, and eventually became Archbishop of Canterbury.[a] Robert Foliot, who succeeded Robert of Melun in Hereford, would seem to have been a relation of Gilbert of London, who was Henry's especial adviser as to the disposal of the vacant bishoprics.[b] Gerard la Pucelle, Bishop of Lichfield, and Hugh of Nunant, his successor in the see, were men who had forsaken the service of Becket for that of the King.[c] And the King's influence was further shown by the election of his natural son, Geoffrey Plantagenet, although under the canonical age, to the bishopric of Lincoln.[d] The younger Henry, in endeavouring to enlist the Pope on his side, complains that his father entrusted the flocks to the wolves who had devoured the good shepherd, and states that, as he was assured, the writs of election were in this form:—"I charge you to hold a free election, yet I will not that you choose any other than my clerk Richard, Archdeacon of Poitiers."[e] Although the literal truth of this

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de Luci. The Pope remonstrated, on the ground that such office was against the canons, and must involve a neglect of their episcopal duties; but Archbishop Richard pleaded with him that the arrangement might be suffered to continue, on account of the benefit which the Church might derive from their influence with the King. It does not appear whether the substitution of Ranulf de Glanvill as Chief Justiciary in the following year was in consequence of the Pope's complaint. See Patrol., cc. 1459; Trivet, A.D. 1176; Lingard, ii. 218; Foss, i. 177, 289.

[a] Peter of Blois tries to vindicate Reginald from the charge of having opposed Becket (Ep. 45).

[b] Diceto, 567.

[c] Herb., vii. 364. As to Gerard, see Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 239.

[d] Pauli, 123.

[e] Brial, 645.

statement may be questioned,[a] the authority which Henry exercised over appointments, both to bishoprics and to abbacies, was really as absolute as it is here represented;[b] and throughout all his disagreements with his sons, the English bishops steadily adhered to him.[c] The question as to the Constitutions of Clarendon had not been decided beyond the vague and ambiguous promise of Henry that such of them as were bad or novel should be abolished. "Nevertheless," says Herbert, "some of them, which have been condemned by the Church, are still observed throughout the kingdom. Whether this be with the King's knowledge and approbation, let the King himself see to it; God forbid that it should be so."[d]

We have seen that the immunities of the clergy were found a bar to the punishment of the murderers of ecclesiastics; and in consequence of this, Archbishop Richard, the successor of Becket, wrote the letter already quoted, in which the argument, although intended only to secure the punishment of offences against the clergy, is equally strong against that exemption of criminal clergymen from secular jurisdiction which had been the foundation of Becket's cause.[e] It was probably in consequence of this that, in 1176, a council at Westminster, under the legate Hugh Petroleone, enacted that the murderer of a clerk, on conviction or confession before the King's justiciary, should undergo the

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[a] See Brial's note.

[b] As to abbacies, see Diceto, 587.

[c] Bened. Petrib., ed. Hearne, i. 38.

[d] viii. 40.

[e] See p. 82.

usual punishment for his crime, and, moreover, should forfeit his inheritance.[a] At the same time it was decreed (although, as Henry tells the Pope, not without much opposition from the greatest and wisest men of the realm) that clergymen should not be subject to the secular courts except for offences against the forest laws, or on account of fees to which the duty of lay service was attached.[b] The indignation with which contemporary writers assail the legate for consenting to these exceptions, appears to show that they were of great practical importance;[c] but, in any case, the principle of the immunity of ecclesiastics from all secular jurisdiction was abandoned, and the sanction of Rome was given to decrees which Becket would have denounced as intolerable and impious.

[a] Diceto, 592.

[b] Ib.

[c] "Ecce membrum Sathanæ! ecce ipsius Sathanæ conductus satelles! qui, tam subito factus de pastore raptor, videns lupum venientem fugit, et dimisit oves sibi a summo pontifice commissas, pro quarum tutamine missus erat a Romana sede in Angliam." (Bened., ed. Hearne, i. 128; cf. Diceto, 591; Bromton, 1107.) The delicacy with which Dr. Lingard treats this matter (ii. 193-4) is amusing. Peter of Blois tells Archbishop Richard that people blamed him for surrendering what the martyr had purchased with his blood. (Ep. 5.)

CHAPTER XV.

CONCLUSION.

In Becket's own time, it was disputed whether he ought to be regarded as a martyr. Robert, Bishop of Hereford, the old professor of Paris and Melun, had proposed by anticipation, with the coolness of a schoolman, the question whether this title would belong to the Primate if he should meet with death in his contest with the King. Grim relates that, on the very day after the murder, "one of our habit and tonsure"—apparently a monk of Christchurch at Canterbury—denied his claim, on the ground that his obstinacy had deserved his fate.[a] The Lambeth biographer reports that some persons regarded his pretence of justice as merely a covering for pride and vainglory; that they held him to have been lacking in that charity without which suffering is of no avail; to have been fond of pomp, haughty, rapacious, violent, and cruel; that they argued that, as it is not the pain of death which makes a martyr, so neither is it his cause alone, but that a good cause must be accompanied by graces of character and conduct in which Thomas of Canterbury was manifestly deficient.[b] And

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[a] i. 80. [b] ii. 128-9.

we are told that half a century later, in defiance both of Papal canonization and of popular enthusiasm, the same opinions found their defenders in the University of Paris—nay, that even the salvation of Becket was called in question.[a] Into the technical inquiry whether the title of martyr were deserved, it is unnecessary now to enter, but some estimate of his merits will be here expected by way of conclusion.

It is not for one age to make its own principles the rule for judging of persons who belonged to another age; and if there be anything which honourably distinguishes the tone of history in our time from that which prevailed during the eighteenth century, it is most especially the disposition to make allowance for men of earlier times, whose ideas and circumstances were widely different from our own. Yet this allowance may be carried too far, so as to seduce historical writers into a love of paradox, and to produce a forgetfulness of the bounds which separate right from wrong. Without denying that the conduct of a personage in history may have been justified before his own conscience, we may rightly ask whether it deserves the gratitude of mankind; and as to his personal justification, we are entitled to ask not only whether he acted according to the light which he had, but whether he was careful to obtain—or

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[a] Cæsar. Heisterbac., viii. 69 (p. 621, ed. Colon. 1599); Daniel, 84. Cæsarius mentions this as a case in which the sanctity of a man who had done no miracles in his life (but see pp. 197, 262 above) was vindicated by miracles after death. In Godwin, De Præsulibus, p. 74, is cited a Lambeth MS. :—"Tractatus in quo probatur causam exilii mortisque Thomæ justam fuisse."

whether he did not rather shut out—the best light which was within his reach. How, then, will Becket bear such an inquiry? Can we acquit him, if we consider that, however much the principles of his generation might have been corrupted by a long course of falsehoods and forgeries—by the pretended Decretals, by the influence of Hildebrand and his school, by the indiscriminating compilations and perverted glosses of the canonists—the Bible was open to him, and the true history of earlier Christian ages was not wholly overlaid?—that the pretensions which he set up in behalf of the clergy were opposed by many of the most learned ecclesiastics?[a]—that his ablest and most confidential adviser was often obliged to disapprove of his proceedings, and earnestly represented to him the danger of inflaming his mind by the study of the books on which his pretensions were grounded?[b] If Richard of Canterbury could argue the question of the clerical immunities in the manner which we have seen,[c] is it to be said that the age is to serve as an excuse for the unreasonable and unscriptural views which Becket so zealously maintained on the subject?

The great fortune of Becket's reputation was the manner of his end. "His behaviour in this act of death," says Daniel; "his courage to take it; his passionate[d] committing the cause of the Church, with his soul, to God and His saints—the place, the time, the

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[a] P. 93.
[b] Pp. 167, 174.
[c] P. 82.
[d] The edition before me reads "passion are," which is clearly wrong.

manner, and all—aggravates the hatred of the deed, and makes compassion and opinion to be on his[a] side."[b] All that was unseemly in his last struggle was washed away by his blood. The continual expressions of apprehension, and vaunts of his readiness to die, in which he had indulged for years—offensive as they were in themselves, and calumnious towards the King—seemed then to acquire a reflected justification, and even to be invested with the character of prophetic foresight. But, in truth, the crime of his murderers must almost be dismissed from our consideration in endeavouring to form an estimate of his merits. We must judge him mainly by his previous acts; and we must confine ourselves strictly to the real facts of the case, since the utter misrepresentations by which the sympathy of his contemporaries was enlisted on his side render their opinion as worthless as that of those who in our own time have allowed themselves to be led by it, without the labour or the desire of acquiring materials for a correct and impartial judgment.

If we condemn Becket, it is by no means necessary that we should acquit his royal antagonist. "Henry the Second," says Dean Milman, "was a sovereign who, with many noble and kingly qualities, lived more than even most monarchs of his age, in the direct violation of every Christian precept—of justice, humanity, conjugal fidelity. He was lustful, cruel, treacherous, arbitrary. But throughout this contest there is no remonstrance whatever from Primate or Pope against his disobedience

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[a] Ed., "this." [b] Chronic., 80.

to the laws of God—only to those of the Church."[a] In endeavouring, therefore, to estimate the conduct of the King and the Archbishop towards each other, our view must be confined to those parts of Henry's character which brought him under the denunciations of the hierarchy. And here—even if we admit all that is imputed to him by his opponents—it seems impossible to approve of Becket's dealings with him. The King was deceived in the fancy that he knew the man whom he promoted to the primacy; whereas, on Henry's part, the contest drew forth nothing for which Becket had not been before prepared. If Henry was violent and false, was it for Becket to begin his primacy by giving the lie to all his former life; and not only to be violent, but to set the example of violence? If there were reason to apprehend that the attack on the immunities of criminal clerks might be followed by some attempt to encroach on the real rights of the Church, was the denial of a plainly reasonable claim the best way of establishing a ground for resistance to such aggressions? and was it for a Christian prelate, not only to oppose the King in a reasonable claim, but to render his opposition more offensive by continual displays of that pride with which his enemies loudly reproach him, which alienated many who were friendly towards him, and which even his most zealous admirers hardly venture to gloss over?[b]

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[a] Lat. Christ., iii. 527, ed. 1.

[b] Humilis erat humilibus, elatis ferus et violens; quasi innatum erat ei
"Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos."
Fitzst., i. 190.

Two lines of Mr. Henry Taylor's 'Edwin the Fair' (where they are spoken of Dunstan) may serve as a commentary:—
"He's humble to the poor, to spite the rich;
Give me the man who's humble with his peers!"

If Becket had been disposed to act as a reformer of the English Church, there was abundant opportunity for his exertions. Without requiring from an ecclesiastic of that age that he should have anticipated the work of the sixteenth century, we may see in the excessive abuse of pluralities, by which the Chancellor himself had largely profited, in the practice of keeping bishoprics long vacant in order that the Crown might appropriate the revenues, and in the grossly irregular lives of many among the clergy—evils which loudly called for redress. By impartially attacking these and other disorders, Becket might have assured himself of the King's co-operation, and might thus have established a footing for opposition to any really objectionable measures which might be attempted. But unfortunately both for the Church and for his own reputation, we can see nothing of impartiality in his proceedings. If he urged that bishoprics should be filled up, his motives were suspected, because all his other exertions were on the side of the hierarchy—sticklings for revenues and for patronage, for castles and for lands, exaltation of the spiritual above the temporal power, claims that the clergy should be privileged above the laity by exemption from the tax-gatherer and the hangman. The anger of the King and the nobles was naturally excited against a prelate who seemed indisposed to admit that the laity, the secular government, the Crown, or the law had any rights whatever against the hierarchy. By taking his stand on the assertion of a privilege utterly unfounded, inconsistent with every principle of civil government, and practically hurtful even to the class in whose

behalf it was claimed, he rendered hopeless all real reform either in the administration of the Church or in its relations with the State. Yet the man who committed this grievous error was one from whom, above all other men, an opposite policy might have been fairly expected. If, on the one side or on the other, the rights of the Church or of the State were liable to be conceived with a narrowness and a partiality suggested by the position of individuals, to whom could we look with so much hope of discovering wider and sounder views as to a man who had passed from the highest secular office under the Crown to the highest office in the national Church? From such a man, surely, it might have been expected that he would

> "know
> Both spiritual pow'r and civil, what each means,
> What severs each—the bounds of either sword."[a]

From Becket, whether he had retained the chancellorship with his archbishopric or had resigned it, we might have expected that he would endeavour to direct the combined action of the ecclesiastical and the secular power to the good government of the English people; that, believing both civil and spiritual government to be "ordained of God," he would have discerned that the real well-being of both must lie, not in opposition, but in harmonious co-operation. Such a view was not hidden from the apprehension of his contemporaries, as may be seen by the language of Rotrou,[b] and by that of the more moderate Imperialists, from the time of the

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[a] Milton, "Sonnet to Sir H. Vane." [b] P. 225.

contest between Hildebrand and Henry the Fourth. But Becket could only see in the relations of Church and State an "incurable duality;" to him it seemed that the servant of the one must be the enemy of the other; and as, when Chancellor, he had lent himself to measures of oppression against the Church, so, after having become Archbishop, he had no feeling but for the most exclusive claims of the clergy. Dr. Lingard's remark that, "by uniting in himself the offices of Chancellor and Archbishop, he might in all probability have ruled without control in Church and State,"[a] therefore, instead of justifying Becket, suggests a ground of severe condemnation against him. For it was not from any want of ambition or from any indifference to power that the Archbishop resigned the chancellorship, but because he had been led by a false and narrow theory to believe that Church and State must be irreconcileably hostile to each other; and thus he thrust from him such opportunities of effecting good as few men have ever enjoyed, that he might suffer exile and death for a groundless and mischievous pretension.

If we compare Becket with the two great champions of the hierarchy who within a century had preceded him —Gregory the Seventh and Anselm—the result will not be in his favour. He had nothing of Hildebrand's originality of conception—of his world-wide view—of his superiority to vulgar objects—of his far-sighted patience. Doubtless he would have been ready to adopt the great Pope's dying words, that he suffered because he had

[a] See p. 63.

"loved righteousness, and hated iniquity;" but how much more of self-deceit would have been necessary for this in the one case than in the other! Hildebrand, while he exalted the hierarchy against the secular power, had laboured with an earnest, although partly misdirected zeal, that its members should not be unworthy of the lofty part which he assigned to it in the economy of this world: in Becket we see the Hildebrandine principles misapplied to shelter the clergy from the temporal punishment of their crimes. Far less will the later English Primate endure a comparison with his illustrious predecessor Anselm. It is, indeed, no reproach to him that he was without that profound philosophical genius which made Anselm the greatest teacher that the Church had seen since St. Augustine; but the deep and mystical fervour of devotion, the calm and gentle temper, the light, keen, and subtle, yet kindly wit, the amiable and unassuming character of Anselm—the absence of all personal pretension in his assertion of the Church's claims—are qualities which fairly enter into the comparison, and which contrast strikingly with the coarse worldly pride and ostentation by which the character and the religion of Becket were disfigured. Nor in a comparison either with Anselm or with Hildebrand must we forget that, while their training had been exclusively clerical and monastic, Becket's more varied experience of life renders the excesses of hierarchical spirit far less excusable in him than in them.

An eminent writer, whose position is very different from that of Becket's ordinary admirers, has eulogised him as having contributed to maintain the balance of

moral against physical force, to control the despotism which oppressed the middle ages, and so to prepare the way for modern English liberty.[a] And such was, unquestionably, the result of his exertions, as of much besides in the labours of Hildebrand and his followers. But it is rather an effect wrought out by an over-ruling Providence than anything which Becket contemplated, or for which he deserves credit or gratitude. His efforts were made, not in the general cause of the community, but for the narrowest interests of the clergy as a body separate from other men; and it is not to the freest but to the most priest-ridden and debased of modern countries that we ought to look for the consequences which would have followed, if the course of things had answered to Becket's intention.

Least of all does Becket deserve the sympathy of those among ourselves who dread that reversed Hildebrandism which would reduce the Church to a mere function of the secular power. An Englishman ought no more, as a churchman, to espouse the cause of those who in former times exaggerated the claims of the hierarchy, than, as the subject of a constitutional monarchy, he ought to defend the excesses of despotism. The name of Becket, instead of serving as a safeguard to those who fear encroachment on the Church in our own time, will only furnish their opponents with a pretext for representing the most equitable claims in behalf of the Church as manifestations of a spirit which would aim at the establishment of priestly tyranny and intolerance.

[a] Sir J. Stephen, Essays, i. 377-8.

APPENDIX.

I.—The Office of Chancellor (p. 27).

That the chancellor was not yet a judge, see Lord Campbell's 'Lives of Chancellors,' ed. 3, i. 4; Foss, i. 14. Mr. Foss seems to be somewhat at a loss how to reconcile this with Fitzstephen's description of himself as "in *Cancellaria* ejus [Thomæ] dictator . . . *sedente eo ad cognitionem causarum*, epistolarum et instrumentorum quæ offerebantur lector, et aliquarum, eo quandoque jubente, *causarum patronus*" (S. T. C. i. 171). There is, however, really no inconsistency; for the place of business which is styled *cancellaria* was not a *court*, but an *office* or *bureau*; and the description of Becket as a judge relates to the time of his archiepiscopate. This appears from the previous mention (in a clause intervening between "dictator" and "sedente") of Fitzstephen's assisting at his master's celebration of mass (for it was only on the day before his consecration as archbishop that Becket received the priestly ordination which qualified him to celebrate); and also from his speaking of himself as pleading causes, which clergymen were forbidden to do in any other than ecclesiastical courts. On the other hand, Wendover's statement that Becket was much employed "in causis perorandis et decidendis" (ii. 293) belongs to a time before his appointment to the chancellorship—while he was as yet a member of Theobald's household, and so took part in the proceedings of the archiepiscopal court.

II.—SALE OF THE CHANCELLORSHIP (p. 28).

The charge against Becket of having bought the chancellorship seems to deserve little attention; but in other cases the office was generally believed to have been sold. Under Henry I. it appears to have been bought by Geoffrey Rufus, afterwards Bishop of Durham. The Annals of Margam record, under the date of 1122, that he became chancellor "pro vii millibus libris argenti" (ap. Gale, t. ii.); and in the Great Roll of 31 Henry I. (A.D. 1130-1) there is an entry that he *owed* the King 3006*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* "pro sigillo" (Foss, i. 82, 136). Here the ambiguity of the record is removed by the passage in the Annals, with which Mr. Foss was not acquainted when he spoke of the Roll as the only authority for Geoffrey's purchase of the office; while the entry in the Roll vindicates the truth of the annalist. It would seem that the price was 7000*l.*, and that of this sum 3006*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* remained due some years after.

Benedict of Peterborough (ed. Hearne, i. 149) states that, in 1176, Archbishop Roger of York bought the chancellorship for his nephew Geoffrey, provost of Beverley, for 11,000 marks. But Diceto, who tells us that Geoffrey had bought the office of chancellor to the younger Henry for eleven *hundred* marks (ap. Twysden, 589), says nothing of his having given eleven *thousand* for the chancellorship of England; and both Diceto and Robert of Mont St. Michel, in recording that he was drowned in 1177, describe him as still chancellor to the *younger* king. It seems, therefore, questionable whether Benedict's story be enough to warrant the addition of Geoffrey to the list of chancellors of England.

III.—Theobald and Becket (p. 37).

"Ille Theobaldus, qui Christi præsidet aulæ
Quam fidei matrem Cantia nostra colit,
Hunc successurum sibi sperat, et orat ut idem
Præsulis officium muniat atque locum.
Hic est, carnificum qui jus cancellat iniquum,
Quos habuit reges Anglia capta diu,
Esse putans reges, quos est perpessa tyrannos;
Plus veneratur eos, qui nocuere magis."

Joh. Sarisb., *Enthet. de Dogm. Philos.*, 1293 seq.

"Did Becket," asks Dean Milman, "decide against the Norman laws by the Anglo-Saxon? Has any one guessed the meaning of the rest of John's verses on the chancellor and his court? I confess myself baffled" (iii. 453). Although John's *Xenien* are abundantly enigmatical, I must hazard a conjecture as to the meaning of this passage. It does not seem to refer to Becket as a judge (see App. I.), but to describe him as reversing by legislation and administration what had been done under Stephen (the Hircanus of the following lines, and of vv. 147 sqq.), who, notwithstanding the defectiveness of his title and the disorders of his reign, had been generally popular. There is a similar passage as to Becket in the 'Entheticus in Polycraticum' (Patrol. cxcix. 379):—

"Hic est qui regni leges cancellat iniquas,
Et mandata pii principis æqua facit," &c.

I cannot see that a letter in which Theobald gives advice to the King as to the choice of a successor in the archbishopric (Joh. Sar. Ep. 54) points to Becket; indeed some of the expressions might rather be construed as deprecating the appointment of one who was supposed to be more devoted to the King than to the Church—"Non quæratis in hac re quæ vestra sunt, sed quæ Domini," &c.

IV.—FOLIOT AND THE BISHOPRIC OF LONDON (p. 41).

There is a letter of Foliot, in which he begs the King to excuse him for declining a proposal made through Becket as chancellor—"Ut curam Londoniæ episcopatus suscipiam, *et ex parte redituum episcopatus episcopum ipsum et domum ejus exhibeam*, reliquum vero domino meo regi, prout sibi spiritus Dei suggesserit erogandum, conservem" (Ep. 119). Mr. Morris supposes the proposal to have been made while the see was vacant, and renders the words which I have marked by italics—"*with* part of the income to maintain myself and my household as its bishop" (p. 33). But the meaning clearly is, "That I should maintain the bishop and his household;" and the most probable explanation seems to be, that, the bishop having become incapable, Foliot was desired to undertake the management of the diocese, to apply part of the revenues to the support of the old man and his dependents, and to pay over the rest into the Treasury. Such an arrangement would have been much less discreditable to the authors of it than either of those which Mr. Morris suggests, while it would have been questionable enough to warrant Foliot in speaking of it as "periculosum, et in multum animæ meæ dispendium," even if these words might not be accounted for by his unwillingness to add the care of London to that of Hereford.

V.—FOLIOT'S JUDGMENT OF HIS SUPERIORS (p. 41).

John of Salisbury, in his 'Polycraticus' (written before the quarrel which ranged him on the opposite side to Foliot), reports an amusing confession:—

"Venerabilis pater Gilbertus Herefordensis episcopus mihi referre consuevit claustralium morem quem in se ipso se fatebatur expertum. Cum enim monasterium in-

gressus esset, fervens adhuc igne, quem de novo conceperat, magistratuum suorum ignaviam arguebat. Nec mora, promotus in modico, miseratione complicium motus est; nondum tamen pepercit majoribus. Paulo post ad priores ascendit: prioribusque compatiens, carpere non cessavit abbates. Factus est et ipse abbas, et propitius in coabbates episcoporum cœpit vitia intueri. Tandem et ipse episcopus, coepiscopis parcit. Nec tamen invidiæ vitio arbitror laborasse, sed vir prudens quod hominibus quodammodo ingenitum est, eleganter expressit."—vii. 24 (col. 704).

VI.—Foliot's Letter to Becket, No. cxciv. (p. 44).

This letter was first published from a MS. in the Cotton collection, by Lord Lyttelton (iii. 186), who supposes that it and others had been omitted by Wolf on account of their unfavourable bearing on the character of Becket. Its genuineness has been denied by Mr. Berington (665 sqq.), who is followed by Dr. Lingard (ii. 131, 623); but their arguments are very weak, and have been refuted by Mr. Turner (i. 233), Dean Milman (iii. 454), Dr. Pauli (iii. 69), and the Romanist Mr. Buss (429). Mr. Morris seems also to admit its genuineness, while he attempts to profit by the suspicion which has been cast on it (414-6). The charge of suppression against Wolf, however, is probably unfounded, as the letter itself does not appear in the Vatican MS., although the title of it is there (Beringt. 655). Mr. Froude, without going into the question of its genuineness, considers himself entitled to disbelieve what is stated in the letter, on the ground that it was not a private communication, but a "published pamphlet," intended to vindicate the writer, and asperse Becket, at a time when the Archbishop was banished, and all communication with him was forbidden (588). I am not disposed to trust

either the friends or the enemies of Becket implicitly, but cannot agree to this wholesale rejection of all testimony except that which is favourable to Mr. Froude's hero.

VII.—CASE OF BATTLE ABBEY (p. 61).

I am altogether unable to admit Mr. Froude's argument (p. 577), that Becket's conduct in the case of Battle Abbey must have been irreproachable in an ecclesiastical point of view, because he himself, in a letter to the Pope (A.D. 1168), speaks of that case as one in which the secular power had been wrongly exalted against the papacy (Epp. Thom., i. 54). For in truth it would appear that Becket was quite incapable of viewing his own conduct dispassionately. He seems to have fancied that, in exchanging the chancellorship for the primacy, he had not only been released from all obligations as to money, but had got rid of his former self; and thus he would have been quite ready to reprobate, as if he were altogether guiltless, an act in which he had been a chief instrument.

Too much, however, has been made of this affair. A consideration of the constant disputes as to monastic exemptions would probably have moderated the inferences which Lord Lyttelton (ii. 133) draws from the Battle case against Becket, while it would have saved Mr. Froude much very sophistical reasoning, and the bold supposition that the Abbey records were "intentionally disguised" (577), in order to give a false colouring to the story. Hilary, Bishop of Chichester, whom we shall hereafter meet with as a royalist, had enunciated the most extreme Hildebrandine opinions in the matter of Battle, and was reproved for them by the Chancellor. Mr. Buss, while he argues that Becket, as chancellor, generally defended the Church, gives up his conduct in this case (170).

VIII.—Family of Ridel (p. 65).

M. Thierry has here missed an opportunity of working his Saxon theory. For wherever Norman enterprise had penetrated, there the Ridels were conspicuous. One fought at Hastings, and is on the Roll of Battle Abbey. Others figure in the chronicles of the Italian Normans as Dukes of Gaeta and Lords of Pontecorvo (see the Chron. Casinense, in Pertz, vii., and the old French translation of Amatus, published by Champollion Figeac). An earlier Geoffrey Ridel was Chief Justiciary of England under Henry I., and perished with Prince William in the "White Ship" (see Order. Vital., l. xii. c. 14; Foss, i. 133). In Scotland we find Gervase Ridel as a witness to the "Inquisition of Prince David" in 1113 (Wilkins, Concilia, i. 393), and Hugh Ridel as a surety for William the Lyon when taken prisoner at Alnwick in 1174 (Bromton, 1105); and from these are descended the existing Riddells of Riddell.

The following paragraph is copied from 'Notes and Queries' for 1854 (vol. x. p. 285):—

"The newspapers lately announced that the office of Proctor in Convocation for the clergy of Canterbury was to be contested by the Rev. A. Oxenden and the Rev. J. C. B. Riddell—gentlemen who, I believe, trace their ancestry to the companions of Hengist and of Rollo respectively. Might not a disciple of M. Thierry make something of this? Let us try:—

"'Aujourd'hui même, que huit siècles se sont écoulés depuis la funeste bataille de Hastings, on voit encore, sous les voûtes de la même cathédrale où le Saxon Thomas Becket a succombé sous les coups meurtriers des ennemis de sa race, une vive contestation pour la représentation du clergé de Cantorbéri entre M. Ochsenbein, membre d'une très ancienne famille du royaume Saxon de Kent, et M. Ridel, descendant du Sieur de Ridel qui se trouve sur le *Rol* de *Batel-Abbaye*, et parent de ce Geoffroy Ridel à qui

l'archevêque Saxon, au lieu de son titre d'*Archidiacre*, a donné celui d'*Archidiable*.

"'*Low-churchman* (homme de la basse église, *puritain*, *vhigh*), et *high-churchman* (homme de la haute église, *thory*)—Saxon et Normand—voilà comme se reproduit l'inextinguible lutte sous le voile sombre et mystique de la théologie réformée de l'Anglicanisme!'

"RUSTICUS."

Happily my respected friends, with whose names and principles the imitator of M. Thierry has here taken such liberties, are now not rivals, but colleagues in the representation of the diocese.—1859.

IX.—DANEGELD (p. 74).

The impost which Becket resisted has been generally identified with the *Danegeld*, as the rate per hide of land was the same; and Carte pronounces the story "too absurd to need a serious refutation," because it is "founded upon a supposition that the two shillings an hyde levied for *Danegeld* was not for the King's use, but was due to the under-sheriffs that held the county courts." (i. 579.) But Grim is not (as Carte fancied) the only authority for the story; and the account which he and others give of the charge seem to show that it was something different from Danegeld. Thus Roger of Pontigny says that the nobles caused it to be paid by their vassals to the sheriffs "quatenus tali servitio et beneficio eos a gravaminibus et calumniis hominum suorum[a] cohiberent." (113.) In like manner Garnier (whose narrative coincides remarkably with Roger's) speaks—

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[a] Mr. Morris has utterly misunderstood these words, supposing, *e. g.*, *hominum suorum* to mean *the subordinates of the sheriffs*, instead of *their* [*the earls' and barons'*] *vassals*.—p. 90.

"Li baron del pais le soleient duner
À ces ki furent mis pur les cuntez guarder,
K'il deussent lur teres e lur humes tenser,
Ne que nul n'en deussent empleidier ne greuer."—65*.

and Becket's answer to the King, as reported by all the writers, agrees with this. At all events it does not appear that Henry wished (as Dr. Lingard says) to "revive" any impost which had become obsolete, or to add to the burdens of his people; he meant only to make the payment compulsory (which it probably was in effect before) and to alter its destination.

As to Danegeld, the clergy had been exempt from it in Saxon times, their prayers being considered as their contribution to the defence of the country. William Rufus, however, refused to allow any such exemption (Collier, ii. 479). Danegeld was paid throughout the reign of Henry I. (Ling., ii. 40). Stephen is said to have sworn to the abolition of it (Henr. Huntingd., l. viii., in Patrol., cxcv. 957; R. Wendover, ii. 218); but this statement is considered very doubtful by Dr. Lappenberg, ii. 303.

X.—Justinian and Gratian on Trial of Clergymen (p. 80).

William of Canterbury tells us that Becket proceeded "juxta constitutionem illam, Si crimen ecclesiasticum est, tunc secundum canones ab episcopo suo causarum examinatio et pœna procedat, nullam communionem aliis judicibus habentibus in hujusmodi causis" (S. T. C. ii. 12). This is from Gratian, P. II., causa xi. qu. 1, c. 45 (Patrol., clxxxvii.); and there are equivalent words in Justinian, Novell. 83 (*ib.* lxxii. 1006). But whereas Becket seems to have understood *crimen ecclesiasticum* as meaning *any crime of an ecclesiastic*, the real meaning is evidently *an ecclesiastical crime—i.e.*, such an offence as was noticed by the laws of

the Church only, and not by those of the State. Moreover, the Novel had immediately before laid down that, in the case of civil crimes, clergymen should be tried before the secular judges; and even in Gratian something of this remains. In another Novel Justinian prescribes a course substantially the same with that which Henry II. proposed,—that the Bishop should inquire into a charge against a clerk, and, if the accused were found guilty, should depose him, and then hand him over to the secular judge.—Novell. 123. (Patrol., lxxii. 1031.)

XI.—SEPARATION OF COURTS BY WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR (p. 84).

The object of this law has been much disputed. Some have supposed it to be intended as confining the jurisdiction of the Bishops rather than as adding to the privileges of the clergy. Mr. Buss wishes to make out that William intended to establish the canon law in England, and, as all visible evidence is against the idea of the King's deferring to the principles of Hildebrand, Mr. Buss supposes that there must have been a continual secret and confidential communication with Rome, of an opposite tendency to that which appears! (85, 124-5, 133.) Some suppose the law intended for a temporary and special occasion (Selden, Hist. of Tithes, 14, in Works, iii. 1282). M. Thierry imagines the object to have been that the Norman prelates might help in the work of depressing the Saxons, and that now the law came to be used for the annoyance of the race in whose favour it was given (ii. 273). See Johnson's Canons, ii. 50-1; Inett, 251; Southey, Vindiciæ, 355-6.

XII.—Arnulf of Lisieux (p. 92).

Arnulf has been already mentioned as one of those by whose policy Becket was introduced to Henry (p. 26), and as conspicuous in the Council of Tours (p. 70). He had contributed to the recognition of Innocent II. as pope, by a very abusive pamphlet against the anti-pope, Anacletus; he had taken part in the Second Crusade (Will. Tyr. xvii. 1), and more recently had exerted himself in behalf of Alexander III. (See his Letters, 21, 23, 24; or Baronius, 1159, 58, *sqq.*) His entrance on the bishopric of Lisieux, to which he was elected in 1141, was opposed by Geoffrey, the father of King Henry; but he was recommended to Innocent in terms of high eulogy by St. Bernard (Ep. 348) and by Peter "the Venerable" of Cluny (Ep. iii. 7, Patrol., clxxxix.), and obtained possession of the see.

Throughout the contest between Henry and Becket, Arnulf endeavoured to keep well with both parties—outwardly siding with the King, while he assured the Archbishop that he was with him in heart, although prevented by his debts and other necessities from openly avowing his sympathy. Thus, he told one of Becket's envoys that, when sent to the Pope in the King's interest, he had privately recommended the Archbishop's cause. (S. T. C., iv. 189.) His advice to Becket, whether sincere or not, was generally good—the substance of it being that the Archbishop should be content to make peace on condition of securing such points as were essential, without endeavouring to gain the appearance of a triumph over the King (ed. Giles, 158–160). Arnulf, however, proved to be too clever, and by his duplicity forfeited the respect which his abilities had procured for him. Herbert of Bosham speaks of him as a person whose title to the name of Christian was very doubtful, "unless perchance words, and not deeds, make a Christian"—as one "whose whole virtue is in his mouth, whose tongue is

of gold and his heart of iron"—who "with his mouth spake peace to the Archbishop, and secretly laid sanres for him" (viii. 232). The debts in which he had involved himself, chiefly for the building of his cathedral, were a lasting incumbrance to him. Several of his letters are full of pitiful supplications for the restoration of the King's favour, which he had at length utterly lost. In 1182 he resigned his see, and two years later he died in the monastery of St. Victor, at Paris. The history of Arnulf forms a remarkable commentary on a passage in one of his Letters:—"Experimento didicimus, divino quodam judicio sæpius evenire, quod hi qui, ob affectationem favoris humani, reverentiam divinæ majestatis offendunt, divini quidem dispendium faciunt, sed humanum, quem affectaverant, minime consequuntur."—Ep. 31, ad Alexandr. Papam.

Some of Arnulf's letters are in Wolf's collection. His extant writings have been published by Dr. Giles, whose edition is reprinted in vol. cci. of Migne's 'Patrologia.'

XIII.—CLAREMBALD AND ST. AUGUSTINE'S (p. 94).

This matter does not seem to be quite fairly represented by Archdeacon Churton, who says that Becket "declined giving his pastoral blessing to a bad man named Clarembald, who had been made abbot of St. Augustine's." (Early Eng. Ch. 344.) The character of Clarembald was indeed unquestionably bad. He is described as "a fugitive and apostate monk in Normandy" (Thorn, in Twysden, 1819); and, after having kept his ground as abbot elect until 1173, was deprived, after an investigation by the Bishops of Exeter and Worcester, who had been commissioned by the Pope for the purpose. These commissioners report that they had received evidence of the most scandalous malversation in the management of his office, and of the gross-

est licentiousness in his personal conduct—among other things, "quod in una duntaxat villâ et adjacentiis ejus xvii. genuit spurios." (Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 310; cf. Diceto, 561. Is this the origin of the *Claringbulds* who are now found among the peasantry of the neighbourhood?) But Clarembald's character did not come into the question between him and Becket. The claim that the Abbot of St. Augustine's should receive the benediction within his own monastery, and without any profession of obedience, had been advanced against Archbishop Lanfranc, who was compelled by William Rufus to comply with it. Archbishop Anselm, however, obliged the next abbot to wait on him and receive his benediction in the Bishop of Rochester's Chapel at Lambeth. (Eadmer, Hist. Novorum, l. iv., in Patrol. clix. 468; Inett, ii. 124.) But the question was afterwards revived, and on this and other subjects the monks of St. Augustine's were continually at feud with the archbishops and with the monks of the cathedral. In 1124, as Archbishop William of Corboyl could not be prevailed on to bless Abbot Hugh, except in the cathedral, Henry I. authorised the Bishop of Chichester to give the benediction in the monastery. The latest precedent was in favour of Clarembald, Archbishop Theobald having been compelled by the Pope, after much contention, to comply with the Augustinian pretensions in giving the benediction to Abbot Silvester, A.D. 1152. (See Joh. Sarisb., Epp. 102, 105; Gervas. 1370.) The claims of St. Augustine's were grounded on documents which Pope Alexander, supposing them genuine, did not feel himself at liberty to overrule (S. T. C. iv. 255); but their genuineness was really suspicious in the extreme. There is a letter from Giles, bishop of Evreux, about this time, stating that a monk of St. Medard's, at Soissons, had confessed on his death-bed to having forged "apostolical privileges" for the monks of St. Augustine's, and suggesting that the genuineness of their parchments should be inquired into. (Wharton, Ang. Sac. ii., præf. p. v.) After

the deposition of Clarembald, his pretensions were renewed against Archbishop Richard by Roger, who had been elected to the abbacy. The Archbishop, although ordered by the Pope to give the benediction in the required terms, refused; and the matter remained unsettled until 1178, when the abbot, after the employment of such means as were usually necessary and successful at the Roman court, received the benediction from the Pope in person. (Gervas. 1444.) In 1181 the Bishop of Durham and others were appointed by the Pope to examine the charters of St. Augustine's, when strong grounds of presumption appeared against those which were most relied on (*ib.* 1458); but the Pope sanctioned the claims of the abbey. An uncordial system of compromise was then carried on for upwards of 200 years. The archbishops would not go to the abbey, nor the abbots to the archbishops, and the benediction was given by some other prelate, until, in 1406, Abbot Thomas Hunden was blessed by Archbishop Arundel, in St. Paul's, London. See the Chronicles of St. Augustine's, by Thorn (in Twysden); and Thomas of Elmham, edited in 1858, for the 'Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain,' by my friend Archdeacon Hardwick,—whose life, so full both of valuable performance and of yet higher promise, has been cut short by a premature and terrible end while these sheets were in the course of final revision for the press.

XIV.—PHILIP OF L'AUMÔNE (p. 95).

The papal envoy's title of "Abbas de Eleëmosyna" has evidently caused much perplexity, although no writer has avowed any difficulty as to the matter. Dr. Giles writes *Eleëmosyna* with a small initial (S. T. C., i. 26; iv. 277); and Philip has been variously styled "The Abbot Almoner," "The Pope's Almoner," "Abbot of Charity," and

the like. But, in fact, *Eleëmosyna* (in Garnier *l'Almodne*, and in later French *l'Aumône*) was the name of a Cistercian abbey, otherwise called *Little Cîteaux*, about four leagues to the south-east of Châteaudun. (Le Prevost, n. on Order. Vital., t. iii. 445, ed. Soc. de l'Hist. de France.) Orderic mentions the fondness of the Cistercians for giving their monasteries such names as "Domus Dei, Clara Vallis, Bonus Mons, et *Eleëmosyna*, ... quibus auditores solo nominis nectare invitantur festinanter experiri quanta sit ibi beatitudo, quæ tam speciali denotetur vocabulo." It was from l'Aumône that the abbey of Waverley, in Surrey, was founded (Joh. Petriburg., ap. Sparke, 66), and also (as I learn from Mr. Morris, who has in part anticipated this note, p. 413) that of Tintern.

XV.—Becket's Cross-bearer (p. 103).

Alan of Tewkesbury relates that, after the Council of Clarendon, Becket's cross-bearer took it on himself to reprove his master's late compliance (i. 340); and such is probably the origin of a story introduced by Father Lacordaire into one of his eloquent "Conférences,"—that, as the Archbishop was going from the Council, a deacon, who was his cross-bearer, placed the cross against a wall and refused to serve him, since he had betrayed the liberties of the Church, whereupon "Thomas Becket se mit à verser des larmes, et, aussitôt qu'il fut rentré chez lui, il rétracta ce qu'il avait signé." (i. 94, ed. Brux., 1847.) M. Thierry's "fixed idea" comes out amusingly in connexion with the scene (which he unaccountably refers to the evening before the day on which the written Constitutions were produced). He tells us that, as the Archbishop was on his way to Winchester, "a *Saxon*, named Edward Grim, his cross-bearer, spoke loudly against his compliance," and adds, that "in this reproof *national senti-*

ment had perhaps as great a share as religious conviction" (iii. 119). For this the historian refers to Fleury, who in reality does not pretend to name the cross-bearer, and says nothing as to his race (Bk. lxxi. 5). In truth, the cross-bearer who spoke was not a Saxon, but of a race which had been dispossessed by the Saxons,—a Welshman named Alexander Llewellyn, whom Giraldus Cambrensis describes as "joculans et linguæ dicacis" (De Instruct. Principum, 187, ed. Brewer); nor was Grim ever Becket's cross-bearer, although the mistake of styling him so had been made by others before M. Thierry. Grim appears to have had no acquaintance with the Archbishop until he visited him at Canterbury about a week before the murder (Herb. vii. 368). Llewellyn was sent abroad just before that event; but, as we shall see hereafter, Grim did not act even as deputy cross-bearer on the fatal day.

XVI.—Filius Excussorum (p. 107).

This strange phrase, which often occurs in writings of that age (*e. g.* Bernard. de Considerat., iii. 1; Pet. Bles. in Patrol., ccvii. 79; Will. Senon. in S. T. C., iv. 162), is derived from Psalm cxxvii. 5 (cxxvi. 4 Lat.), where the Latin Vulgate, following the LXX., has "ita sunt filii excussorum" for "so are the young children" (P. B.), or "children of the youth" (Eng. Bible). Rosenmüller (Schol. in loc.) says that the Greek and Latin translators supposed the Hebrew word for *youth* (נְעוּרִים) to be the participle of a verb meaning *to shake out* (נָעַר), and that under the epithet *excussi* they understood "persons who are shaken by troubles" (*υἱοὶ τῶν ἐκτετιναγμένων, οἱ σφόδρα ταλαιπορούμενοι*, Suidas, ed. Gaisford, ii. 3736). But this view of the meaning did not occur to, or did not satisfy the patristic and mediæval commentators. According to St. Augustine (who expresses his belief that the explanation

had been suggested to him by inspiration), the *excussi* are the Prophets, because their obscure language requires to be shaken out in order to get at its meaning; and the *filii excussorum* are the Apostles (In Psalm. cxxvi. c. 10). Walafrid Strabo, however, holds that the Apostles themselves are the *excussi*, because they were charged to shake off the dust from their feet (Gloss. in loc., Patrol., cxiii.). Bruno of Segni argues that they are the Apostles, but for a different reason—that the Apostles were persecuted from city to city—and he supposes the *sons* to be those who imitate them (in loc., ib. clxiv.). Gerhoh of Reichersperg raises the question whether *excussorum* be the genitive of *excussi* or of *excussores*, but finds himself able to turn it to edification in either case (in loc., ib. cxciv.). It would, of course, be easy to multiply such specimens of interpretation. Whether Herbert attached any definite meaning to the phrase does not appear.

XVII.—THE RELEASE FROM SECULAR OBLIGATIONS (p. 116).

The release seems to me a matter of greater difficulty than it has been considered by many writers. That a release was asked and granted is certain; but there remain the questions, (1) What was it supposed to imply? and (2) Was it rightly granted? It seems clear that the Chancellor's accounts might have been required, and, indeed, ought to have been rendered, before his promotion to the primacy; and, on the other hand, that, if things had gone smoothly, or if Henry had had other means of assailing him, no demand would have been made on this ground. But, as matters actually stood, was it to be considered that the release had barred all claims which the King might wish to raise? Diceto, who (as Fitzstephen informs us, 227) was present at the trial, says that many thought it right that an account should be given, notwith-

standing the release; and, moreover, that Becket was unable to prove the King's consent to it (537). Foliot afterwards made a jest of the Archbishop's fancying "that as in baptism sins are forgiven, so in promotion debts are released" (S. T. C., iv. 271); and, which seems important, Herbert of Bosham represents the idea of pleading the release as having only occurred to the Bishop of Winchester after a long deliberation with the other bishops ("*tandem* recordatus est," vii. 138). Hence it seems doubtful whether the release was understood as an acquittance of all pecuniary claims, until such an interpretation was devised by way of meeting claims actually made. It would appear that nothing was expressly said as to money at the time of the election. The King, according to the Lambeth biographer, announced the release to the Pope when asking him to send Becket the pall (ii. 97), and thus made the act his own, even if he had not authorised it beforehand. But what did he suppose it to import, since he reckoned on Becket's continued services as Chancellor? Nay, what did Becket himself understand it to amount to, since he retained the charge of Eye and Berkhampstead? It would seem to be the income from these castles that he alludes to, when, at a later time, he tells the Pope that the King no longer calls for the accounts of his Chancellorship, "but asks for that only which he says that I received of his property in the time of my archiepiscopate." As to this, however, the Archbishop declares that he is not bound, inasmuch as he had already rendered his account for it (iii. 35).

XVIII.—Order of Sempringham (p. 133).

The foundation of the Order of Sempringham (which included recluses of both sexes) is variously dated from 1131 to 1148. It was confirmed by Pope Eugenius III.

A life of the founder, Gilbert, and the statutes of the Order, may be found in the Monasticon, vol. vi., pt. 2. The author of the Life tells us that St. Thomas of Canterbury appeared to one of his old retainers, saying, "I am Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, whom men call Saint Thomas." "Thanks be to God," said the old man, "who hath vouchsafed to do such great things for thee, my Lord; for never, methinks, hath there been, or will there be, in our land one from whom so great joy shall arise." "I tell you," replied the Saint, "there will be one;" and, on being asked the name, he answered by the single word "Gilbert,"—"whom," adds the biographer, "we take to be none other than this Gilbert of ours" (p. xv.). [It would seem that Bishop Foliot was not considered to be a likely rival, and few, perhaps, would now advance a claim for Bishop Burnet.] St. Gilbert of Sempringham died in 1188.

XIX.—Memorable Tuesdays in Becket's Life (p. 134).

Herbert tells us that All Souls' Day was Tuesday, and that Tuesday was the day of the week on which the most remarkable events in the Saint's life took place—his trial and flight, his crossing the sea, his return, and his martyrdom; to which Garnier adds his birth, and Diceto his first translation. (Herb., vii. 164; Garnier, 158; Diceto, 556.) Herbert also states that this Tuesday was a fortnight after that on which he "fought with beasts" at Northampton. It would appear, however, that in 1164 All Souls' Day fell on a Monday, and that it wanted but one day of three weeks since the last day of the Council. (See Nicolas, Chronology, p. 60.) The editor of William of Newburgh (i. 132) makes a needless difficulty as to dates, by supposing that Diceto speaks of the Council as having *begun* on October 13, whereas he really names that as the day of the trial about the Chancellorship. The addition of

Becket's baptism, and of a remarkable vision which he had at Pontigny (R. Gloucest., 126), to the memorable events of his Tuesdays (see Stanley, 58, ed. 3) was probably a later "development."

XX.—Whiteness of Becket's Hands (p. 137).

Mr. Froude, as we have seen (p. 11), refers this personal characteristic to the Archbishop's supposed "Asiatic extraction." Ever since the time of St. Jude's grandchildren (Hegesipp. ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl., iii. 20), at least, the appearance of the hands has occasionally served as a test of condition. Thus it is related, in the Life of Adalbero, Archbishop of Treves in the 12th century, that some sailors among whom he fell "cœperunt pulcherrimas manus ejus considerare, et ex hoc perpendere quod homo plebeius non esset" (Patrol., cliv. 1314); and the insurgent peasantry of Languedoc, in the minority of Charles VI., massacred all who had not "callous hands." (Martin, Hist. de France, v. 349, ed. 4.) There is a story of a Jacobite belonging to Lord Forbes's family who, after the battle of Culloden, disguised himself as a labourer, and when charged by some soldiers with being a gentleman in hiding, escaped by holding out his hands, which were naturally very large and rough, and asking, "Are these the hands of a gentleman?" Becket's opponent, King Henry, might have in like manner defied the test.—— "Manus ejus," says Peter of Blois, "quadam grossitia sua hominis incuriam protestantur; earum enim cultum prorsus negligit; nec unquam, nisi aves deferat, utitur chirothecis" (Ep. 66).

XXI.—The Resignation of the Archbishopric (p. 153).

The story of the resignation is told by all modern writers, and I have not ventured in the text to deviate from the usual track. Among the older biographers, however, the incident does not appear by any means so distinct and certain. Nothing is said of it either by Roger (whose acquaintance with Becket is supposed to have begun immediately after, on the Archbishop's settling at Pontigny) or by Garnier. The "dicitur" with which Fitzstephen introduces his statement (i. 244) does not much bespeak our confidence, neither do even the "ut mihi pro certo dictum est" of Grim (i. 52), or the "ut pro certo cognitum est" of another writer (ii. 259); while, on the other hand, the account given by Alan, which has been here chiefly followed, has even too much of detail. But the most remarkable circumstance is the silence of Herbert, who was himself with Becket at Sens. He tells us of the audience at which the Constitutions were exhibited; and then he states that on the following day many cardinals and other politicians of the court remonstrated with the Archbishop on the unreasonableness of quarrelling with the King while the Church was suffering from a schism; to which censure the biographer replies by a very long discourse, which is put into the mouth of his hero (vii. 182–195); but of the resignation he says nothing whatever. It is hardly worth while to mention small variations in the story; as, that Alan makes the reading of the Constitutions to have been at a public audience, and the resignation in the Pope's chamber, whereas Herbert expressly states that the Constitutions were read in the chamber; that Grim represents the whole as having taken place at one interview, while Alan makes two; that, according to Alan, the restoration of the see was on the

same day with the resignation, whereas Fitzstephen tells us that there was an interval of three days; that Herbert speaks of Becket as having himself chosen Pontigny for a residence, and as having petitioned to be placed there, while Alan represents him as having no choice in the matter; and so forth. On the whole, I must think the story of the resignation extremely doubtful. Herbert was, indeed, as capable of suppressing a fact as others were of inventing a falsehood; but Herbert's narrative has here a much greater air of probability than Alan's. What motive could Herbert have had for suppression? or what likelihood is there that Alan should have been so very circumstantially informed as to an incident of which Fitzstephen and Grim speak so uncertainly? And if the scene took place, as Alan describes it, in the presence of the cardinals, many of whom were in Henry's interest, how could there have been any mystery or uncertainty about it? Surely it would in such circumstances have very soon become universally known. Becket himself, in a letter to Cardinal Hyacinth, A.D. 1167, alludes to something which had taken place at Sens: "partes vestras diligentius interponatis, ut *confirmationem primatiæ nostræ*, quam in primo adventu nostro Senonis D. Papa nobis concessit, per vos obtineamus" (iii. 132): this, however, evidently means, not that the Pope restored him to his archbishopric, but that he promised him a formal confirmation in certain privileges as attached to it. Fitzstephen mentions that he obtained privileges at Sens (i. 244), and from a letter to Cardinal Manfred we learn distinctly that the "primacy" here spoken of means the superiority of Canterbury over York. (iii. 144.) If the story of the resignation is untrue, one of Lord Lyttelton's charges against Becket will fall to the ground, viz., that while to the Pope he professed to consider his election uncanonical, he yet, in writing to the English bishops, maintained its perfect regularity and validity. (Ep. 75; Lyttelton, ii. 401.) Fuller represents the resignation as

having taken place at Benevento (i. 314), probably through a confusion with the history of Archbishop Ralph, who in 1115 there waited on Paschal II. (W. Malmesb., Gesta Pontif. in Patrol. clxxix., 1508.)

XXII.—The Pope's Treatment of Becket (p. 153).

Even popes may be wronged, and it is right to defend even Professor Reuter's hero, Alexander, from the injustice which is done him in this part of the story by Mr. Sharon Turner's misapprehension and M. Michelet's misrepresentation. Mr. Turner says that Becket's "messenger was two days at Rome [the Pope being, as we have seen, really at Sens] before he obtained an audience, and, though received at last with the public gesticulations of sighs, and even tears, and congratulations that the Church had such a pastor, yet, when his friend mentioned Becket's petition to be invited to Rome [*i. e.*, Sens], the immediate answer of the Pope was a peremptory refusal." (i. 255.) For this a reference is given to "lib. i. ep. 23"—the same letter which is quoted in the text, p. 150. That letter, however, was not written, as Mr. Turner and M. Thierry (iii. 138) suppose, after Becket's flight, but a year earlier; and the statement that Alexander "peremptorily refused to *invite*" the Archbishop, is founded on a misconception of a passage the true sense of which will appear from Mr. Froude's translation (p. 70):—"Lastly, on our requesting that His Holiness would send your Lordship a *summons to appear before him*, he answered, with much apparent distress, 'God forbid! rather may I end my days than see him leave England on such terms, and bereave his Church at such a crisis!'"

M. Michelet may be left to speak for himself—that Becket *wrote* from *Pontigny*, "charging himself with having been intruded into his see, and declaring that he resigned

his dignity;" that "Alexander *refused to see* him, and contented himself with *writing* to him, that he re-established him in his episcopal dignity—'Go,' he *coldly wrote* to the exile, 'Go, learn in poverty to be the consoler of the poor'" (iii. 171). This is really not an unfair specimen of the brilliant historian's accuracy, either in his account of Becket, or in such other parts of his story as I have been able to examine particularly.

XXIII.—JOHN, BISHOP OF POITIERS (p. 166).

John des Belles-Mains was a native of Canterbury, and had been Treasurer of York. He is described by Robert of St. Michel as "vir jocundus et largus et apprime eruditus" (A. D. 1162), and by John of Salisbury as "vir singularis eloquii, et qui omnibus quos viderim trium linguarum gratia præstat" (Polycrat. viii. 7, col. 735 D). He was one of Becket's most confidential friends, and Fitzstephen says that in the beginning of the troubles he was made Bishop of Poitiers, and John of Salisbury was banished, with a view of depriving the Archbishop of their counsel (215). But this, as Mr. Morris has pointed out (p. 417), is incorrect, inasmuch as the Treasurer of York was promoted to Poitiers before the breach between Becket and the King. M. Thierry (iii. 134) quotes a letter of John of Salisbury (Ep. 147) as showing that an attempt to poison the Bishop was made by the King's party about the time of Becket's flight. If such an attempt had been made, we should pretty surely have heard more of it; but, in truth, the poisoning is mentioned merely as matter of rumour (Epp. 146–7), and it would seem that this rumour (in so far as it had any foundation at all) arose from the fact of the Bishop's having had a severe natural illness. Moreover, the date is not, as M. Thierry supposes, 1164, but 1166—after the meeting at Chinon, which is mentioned in the text, p. 182.

From Poitiers John was translated in 1181 to the archbishopric of Lyons, which he resigned in 1195; and he died as a monk at Clairvaux (Patrol. ccix. 873–8). Among the letters of Alan of Tewkesbury (11–2, in S. T. C. viii.) are two addressed to John when Archbishop of Lyons, by which it appears that, to the indignation of the Canterbury monks, he then held the living of Eynesford, which had been the occasion for one of Becket's quarrels.

XXIV.—VÉZELAY (p. 184).

I venture to introduce here an extract from a rough diary, written in October, 1855:—

"After climbing a long hill, on the brow of which stands a cross, a new prospect opened—a wide valley, with high hills on the farther side, reminding me of the views towards Wales from the country beyond Tenbury; and in advance of the range a steep rock, covered in great part with vineyards, and crowned by the town of Vézelay,—trees rising above the ramparts, and between them the lofty apse of the abbey church. To the left, a village with a turreted château; in the bottom, the beautiful spire of St. Père, and the Cure, widened in one place by a weir, flowing through the valley. There was a long descent, and, after passing through the dirty village of St. Père (reserving the church for my return), a long ascent to Vézelay. The shape of the little town is something like that of a flat fish—the abbey holding the place of the head, while the junction with the main range of hills is the tail. The road winds up a hill opposite the south side of that on which the town is built, and passes on (towards Clamécy, I believe) outside. Turning from it on reaching the height, you enter between two pillars, and find yourself in the main street. The feet at once feel the change from a good macadamised road to a stone pavement, which is even worse than that of most old

French towns. The street is narrow, the houses are dingy, the shops dark and poor. A few drowsy people standing at doors gaze at you with an incurious stare. You go on; the street becomes narrower and steeper; nobody is seen; all seems asleep; Bayeux, and even Sandwich, are nothing in their deadness to Vézelay. Here and there bits of carved stone-work appear, built into the walls of houses. At length you come out on a little open space, and look on the western front of the great church. One tower is gone; the other is Romanesque below, and Gothic above, but not (I think) *late* Gothic, as the 'Handbook' says, except in quite the highest part. There is a window of five lights, with an arch above it. You enter the porch, which has three bays, with pointed arches, and an arcade above them. This is of the early part of the twelfth century, and already existed in Becket's time. A great doorway, and a smaller one at each side, Romanesque arches, with much sculpture, admit you to the nave, which is very long, and of stern early Romanesque, but surely not (as I remember that Froude says) 'anterior to Norman,' or as old as the ninth century.[a] There is no triforium, and the roof is of a barrel fashion. The whole church is now in process of restoration. The choir is of the transitional style so common in the great churches of these parts, although the specimens of it on a large scale are few in England (our own cathedral being the chief); it, too, was probably already built when Becket made this the scene of his excommunications.[b] The curé, a polite elderly personage, was in the church, and kindly showed me the crypt, with the recess in which the relics of St. Mary Magdalene were kept until cast out by the Huguenots. During the restoration, service is performed in the ancient chapter-house, a low, vaulted

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[a] I have since found that Mr. Fergusson refers it to the eleventh. Handbook of Architecture, 655.

[b] The former choir had been burnt down on the eve of St. Mary Magdalene, in 1120. Rob. Antissiod. in Rec. des Hist., xii. 291.

Romanesque building. The sight of Vézelay was well worth the trouble of my journey by diligence from Auxerre, and of my walk from Avallon."

XXV.—Date of the Excommunications at Vézelay (p. 186).

The day is variously stated. Dr. Giles (I do not know on what authority) says that it was Easter-day (Life and Letters, i. 382). Herbert (vii. 229) and Gervase (1400), followed by Mr. Buss (394), name St. Mary Magdalene's day (July 22), when, for the festival of the patroness, "very many nations flock from various kingdoms" (Herb.). But it is evident, from the correspondence (which is better authority than Herbert's narrative, written from memory long after), that it was earlier (see iv. 195; Joh. Sarisb., ep. 175, fin. &c.). Diceto (539) and Wendover (ii. 313) place the excommunication on Ascension-day; Dr. Pauli (as I myself formerly did) on the Sunday following (68). But the best authority seems to be the circumstantial account given by John of Salisbury in a letter to the Bishop of Exeter (Ep. 145, col. 137), which is followed in the text. From Soissons to Vézelay must have been a journey of more than two days, and the Whitsun festival will account better than the Ascension for the words "de diversis nationibus," which John uses in describing the assembled crowds. Dr. Pauli observes that the words of Nicolas of Rouen (Thom. Ep. 347)—"Alii quoque conjectant quod in festo S. Mariæ Magdalenæ in regis personam sententiam preferetis" (taken in conjunction with the discordant statements of John of Salisbury and Herbert) "might suggest the supposition of *two* scenes at Vézelay" (69), and Dom Brial (Rec. des Hist., xvi. 255) infers the same from Gervase of Canterbury's narrative. But this appears to be a mistake, and Dr. Pauli does not venture to adopt it.

XXVI.—BECKET'S VESTMENTS AT SENS (p. 199).

"The length of the vestments," says Professor Stanley, "confirms the account of his great stature. On the feast of 'St. Thomas,' till very recently, they were worn for that one day by the officiating priest. The tallest priest was always selected, and even then it was necessary to pin them up" (Hist. Mem. of Canterbury, 181, ed. 3). But, although the age of the vestments seems to be undisputed, their great length might rather suggest a doubt whether they belonged to Becket; for, while he is said to have been "statura procerus" (Fitzst. 185), and Herbert even speaks of his "proceritatem *egregiam*" (vii. 165), there is nothing, that I am aware of, in the old writers to suggest the idea that his height was so extraordinary as to render these articles suitable for him. (The Sens tradition is that he was 6 feet 4 inches, French, in height—equal to 6 feet 7½ inches English.) There is, however, a passage in a letter of Peter of La Celle to John of Salisbury, which, if it relate to Becket's chasuble, would seem to imply that he wore one of disproportionate size—"Quasi de magnitudine *cassulæ* tunc archiepiscopi Thomæ, nunc pretiosissimi martyris, conquerebar[?] ubi posset reperiri" (Ep. 124, Patrol. ccii.); but I do not pretend to understand this, and *cassula* may possibly mean a *reliquary* or *shrine*. (See Ducange, s. v.) Mr. Shaw supposes that "the zeal of his admirers" may have made a very common mistake as to some of these vestments, in attributing them to St. Thomas of Canterbury; but that, "with regard to many of them, it is probable that the tradition is correct." (Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages, vol. i.) As to the history of them, M. Chaillou des Barres states that they were discovered in 1523 in an ancient house in the cathedral cloister. (L'Abbaye de Pontigny, 63.) But how were they known to have belonged to Becket?

XXVII.—BECKET AND THE ABBOT OF ST. ALBAN'S (p. 261).

The contemporary documents give no hint that Becket proceeded beyond Southwark after being charged to return to Canterbury; and we are left to judge whether Matthew Paris has here presented us with an authentic tradition preserved in the monastery of St. Alban's, or with a fiction invented for the glory of that house. The less favourable supposition seems to be the more likely; for not only is the silence of Becket's contemporaries a ground of presumption against the story, but it does not appear in the older chronicles of St. Alban's itself—being one of the passages interpolated into the text of Roger Wendover by Matthew Paris, whose unscrupulousness in such matters is notorious. (See Pauli, 882.) The variations between Matthew's two narratives are not in favour of his general truth; and the manner in which, in one of them, he mixes up the Abbot's alleged expedition to Woodstock with that of Richard of St. Martin's, brings him into something like a direct contradiction of the earlier writers.

XXVIII.—HUGH MAUCLERC (p. 282).

"An accursed man, Hugh of Horsea, known by the appellation of the *Ill Clerk*," says Southey (Book of the Church, ed. 4, p. 143), apparently following Fuller, who speaks of him as "an officer of the church, called Hugh, the Ill Clerk" (i. 316, ed. Nichols). But *Malus Clericus* was evidently a surname—Malclerc (Garnier, 151) or Mauclerc (ib. 146); "Hugo, re et nomine *Malus Clericus* appellatus," Gervas. 1416; "*Malus Clericus*, Gallicè *Mauclerc*," Ducange, s. v.). Walter *Mauclerc* was a judge, and Bishop of Carlisle, in the reign of John (Godwin de Præsul. 763; Foss, ii. 404); and it is probably the same

name which has in later times taken the form of *Mockler*—perhaps, too, that of *Manclarke*.

Benedict of Peterborough (S. T. C. ii. 66; Vita Henr. II. 12) ascribes the scattering of the Archbishop's brains to the fourth knight (De Morville), whom he also describes as the one whose sword was broken, and as having been instigated by the reproach of one of his companions on account of his backwardness to strike; and this statement is copied by Hoveden (298–9) and by the author of a "Passion" (in S. T. C. ii. 145). Herbert says that, "ut dicebatur," it was Robert de Broc (vii. 345). M. Thierry quotes (iii. 190) from some Latin verses in Hearne's appendix to William of Newburgh (p. 723, Oxon. 1719):—

> "Willelmus Maltret percussit cum pede sanctum
> Defunctum dicens, Pereat nunc proditor ille,
> Qui regem regnumque suum turbavit, et omnes
> *Angligenas* adversus eum consurgere fecit."

The historian, however, appears to overrate the value of this as a confirmation of his Saxon theory: for (1) the incident most likely never occurred in the manner described. The most authentic writers do not mention any other insult to the lifeless body than that which is related in the text; and this was probably the foundation of the verses, in which the name of the actor, his act, and his words, are all altered. (2.) There was no insurrection, Saxon or other, which could have given occasion for such a speech. (3.) Even if the versifier's story were true, it would be absurd to lay any especial stress on the sense of the word *Angligenas*—brought in, as it evidently is, for the sake of the metre. And (4.) the verses are altogether of such a character that it is absurd to treat them as any authority.

XXIX.—Place of Becket's Death (p. 291).

The popular story (which has, I believe, been universally followed by painters who have treated the subject) represents Becket as having been murdered at the altar. Some say the high altar; others, with a greater appearance of precision, the altar of St. Benedict; Trivet (p. 67) that of St. Denys. That the fact was otherwise need not be argued, after what has been said by Professors Willis (pp. 41, 140) and Stanley. But it may be worth while to point out how early this feature was introduced into the story. John of Salisbury, who, although he had not the courage to stand by his master, was probably in some part of the cathedral while the murder took place, in writing, only a few days after the event, says that the martyr suffered "before Christ's altar" (Ep. 304). About the same time an anonymous writer tells the Pope that the murderers set on him "ante altare" (S. T. C., vi. 304); and Theobald, Count of Blois—"Effusus est sanguis justus ubi nostræ viaticum salutis solebat immolari" (S. T. C., iv. 212). William of Newburgh—"Sacerdotum magnum, stantem ad orationem ante venerandum altare, peremerunt" (ii. 25, p. 156). The Lambeth biographer—"Ante altare" (123). Fitzstephen, however, has "*secus* aram" (i. 303), which is not quite fairly rendered in Mr. Froude's volume, "*before* the altar" (p. 557); and in some of the old writers, while there are general expressions which seem to countenance the common story, these are corrected by more particular statements; thus, Diceto has "*coram* altari," and afterwards "*a dextris* alfaris S. Benedicti" (555–6). An altar was afterwards erected in honour of "St. Thomas," immediately behind the spot on which the "martyrdom" took place (see Erasmus, ed. Nichols, 113, and Stanley on "the Shrine of Becket"); but at the time of the murder, the altar of St. Benedict stood, not on the site of that later erection, but in a small chapel to the north of it.

A flagstone of peculiar appearance is usually shown as that on which the Archbishop died; and "that the spot so marked is precisely the place where Becket fell, is proved by its exact accordance with the localities so minutely described in the several narratives" (Stanley, 78). But the identity of the stone itself is questionable, inasmuch as the Peterborough Chronicle states that Benedict, on being promoted from the priory of Christchurch, Canterbury, to the abbacy of Peterborough, carried off with him the stones on which the martyr's blood had been shed, and made them into two altars for his new church (Chron. Petrib. ap. Sparke). And the story now commonly told—that, where a small square piece is inserted, the original stone was cut out and sent to Rome as a relic—is much more than questionable. As a tradition, it appears to have originated within the present century, inasmuch as it is not mentioned by Hasted (A.D. 1799), nor by any of the earlier topographers, some of whom (as Somner, Battely, and Gostling) were specially connected with the cathedral, and, therefore, could hardly have failed to know the story, if it had been current in their days, or to record it, if it had been known to them. No such relic as that in question has ever been discovered at Rome, although diligent inquiry has been made (Stanley, 78), and although at Sta. Maria Maggiore and elsewhere relics of St. Thomas are exhibited. And the passage of Baronius, which has been referred to by Mr. Morris (390) and others as evidence that "the cardinal legates, Albert and Theodwin, brought back with them [to Rome] a portion of the pavement," in reality gives no countenance to the statement; for the historian's words are—"Intulerunt in urbem sacra pignora novi Martyris, nempe *quod super ecclesiæ pavimentum respersum fuerat ejus capitis cerebrum, necnon ejus tunicam*," &c., 1172, 12.

XXX.—Becket's Relations.

I am not aware that any brother of the Archbishop is mentioned in authentic documents; but there are notices of three sisters:—

(1.) *Mary*, already celebrated for her hospitality to Garnier of Pont St. Maxence (p. 7). She was appointed Abbess of Barking in 1173, at the suggestion of Odo, prior of Christchurch, Canterbury, "mandato regis, patris, et contemplatione fratris." See Diceto, 570; Gervas. 1424; Flor. Vigorn. Contin., ii. 153; Monast. Angl., i. 437.

(2.) *Rohesia* or *Roheise*, whose name is doubtless the same with that of Roësa, which the Lambeth biographer gives to the Archbishop's mother (see pp. 14–5). Garnier tells us that Henry II., on the occasion of his penance at Canterbury,—

> "La surur saint Thomas merci quist e cria,
> E en adrescement un molin li dona,
> Bien ualt dis mars par an la rente qu'ele en a."—P. 162.

My friend the Rev. L. B. Larking has published, in 'Notes and Queries' (2nd Series, No. 46), from documents in the Record Office, some notices of payments to Roheise from the mill in question (Eastbridge or King's Mill, Canterbury, for which see Somner, ed. Battely, Append. 5; Hasted, iv. 438). The first entry is in 21 Hen. II. (A.D. 1175). In 31 Hen. II. her son John is admitted to a share in the pension; and three years later he appears alone—from which it would seem that Roheise was then dead. Dr. Lappenberg had before pointed out (n. in Pauli, 103) that there is an entry in the Pipe Roll of 1 Rich. I. (edited by Mr. Hunter for the Record Commission)—"Johanni, filio Rohesie sororis sancti Thomæ, xi. li. de eleemosyna Regis in molendino Cantuar." (p. 231).

(3.) *Agnes*, who married Thomas, son of Theobald of

Helles, or Heilli, and, in conjunction with him, founded and endowed an hospital for the brotherhood of St. Thomas of Acre, on the site where Gilbert Becket's house had stood, and which is now occupied by the Mercers' Chapel (Monast. Angl., vi. 645–7; Maitland's London, 886–7). She is also said to have given, after her husband's death, a rent of ten shillings to St. Saviour's Hospital, Bermondsey; and the deed of gift is witnessed by "Theobaldo milite, nepote Beati Thomæ Martyris," who may probably have been her son. (Carte's Life of the D. of Ormonde, i. Introd. xiv. ed. 1736.) Through this channel it is supposed that the Butlers of Ormonde were connected with Becket, according to an old family tradition, which was set forth in a petition to the King and Parliament in 32 Henry VI., and received a kind of Parliamentary sanction from the granting of the petition. (Ib. viii.–ix.) But the manner of this connexion is very obscure, and it seems likely that the Butlers may not have been descended from Thomas and Agnes, but from another son of Theobald, so as in reality to have no blood-relationship to the family of Becket. (Ib. v. *sqq.*) Helles is, according to Carte, a barony in Tipperary. (Ib. xii.)

In the letters written during the exile there are occasional notices of some of Becket's relations who had been involved in the general sentence of banishment for his sake. Thus, in Ep. 103, he recommends a sister's son (possibly John, the son of Roheise) to the Dean and Chapter of Rheims, with a request that the boy may be maintained in their house, and compelled to apply to grammatical studies; and, in Ep. 151, he bespeaks the assistance of the Archbishop-elect of Syracuse for "our sister's son G . . ."

According to Mr. Morris, whose "account is entirely taken from the documents presented to the S. Congregation of Rites in 1835" (pp. 386–7, 442), some members of the Archbishop's family remained in Italy, and from these were descended "Blessed John and Peter Becket, of the Augustinian Eremitical Order at Fabriano," who flourished about

the year 1400. In the church of San Tomaso Cantuariense, at Verona, "is the tomb of Giovan' Battista Beket, who claims to be of the family of the Archbishop—perhaps a descendant of some of those who followed him into exile." (Handb. for North Italy, 257, ed. 1854.)

It may be well to note here, that Neander (vii. 234, ed. Bohn) has done Becket an injustice by supposing him to be the Archbishop whom Peter of Blois defends (not altogether effectually) against charges of avarice and nepotism. The letter (Pet. Bles., Ep. 38) evidently relates to the next archbishop, Richard.

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